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The Week.

THE political campaign of this fall has not opened favorably for the Republicans. An important State, which was transformed by the loyalty of its citizens from a pro-slavery stronghold into one of the most decidedly Republican States in the Union, has been lost to the party. A Republican majority of 15,000—equal, considering the difference in population, to a majority of 100,000 in New York—has been swallowed up. A governor, a legislature, a United States senator, and one or two members of the lower house have all been lost. Such a loss would be at any time a grave disaster, but at the present moment there are peculiar reasons for regretting it, as the President will doubtless be encouraged by it. In order to understand it we must go back a little in the history of California politics. Every one knows that San Francisco, in the first few years after it came into American hands, was the paradise of scoundrels. Ballot-box stuffing was carried on more scientifically there than anywhere else, the police were the worst ruffians in the city, and government in general was what it would be in New York to-day if it had been left entirely in the hands to which many wise men in the Constitutional Convention propose to restore it. The Vigilance Committee, by illegal means, rescued the city from the hands of the thieves and murderers who administered the mockery which they called law, and re-established law and order. They hanged one or two of the worst scoundrels, banished a few more, and laid the basis of good government, which ever since then the city has enjoyed. But, though the public elections were reformed, the political machinery was not. Primary elections relapsed, after a few years, into the hands of the many minor scoundrels who were not banished. While the Republican party was in a feeble minority it was not troubled with the company of these fellows. But when, in the patriotic fervor of 1861, the Republicans carried the State, and it became clear that they would retain power, many of the blacklegs came over to the party, and almost all of them, whatever party they might vote with at regular elections, volunteered their invaluable services at the Republican "primaries." The consequence has been that for the last four years the Republican political machinery in San Francisco and some other large towns has been entirely in the hands of unprincipled men bent upon public

plunder. In 1863 the present governor of the State secured his nomination by a bargain with these men. During the present year a combination was formed by the friends of Senator Conness, whose own antecedents are of very dubious purity, with those of Mr. George C. Gorham, a noted lobbyist, who had for some years been seeking to carry a scheme through the Legislature highly profitable to a private clique, but fearfully expensive to the people of San Francisco. The allies carried the primary elections in that and other cities by the usual well-understood means. Mr. Gorham was nominated for governor, and a ticket for the Legislature was presented pledged to the support of Mr. Conness for another senatorial term. The result is before us, Gorham and Conness are both defeated. San Francisco, which gave 4,315 majority for Lincoln, gives 3,848 against Gorham; Sacramento, which gave Lincoln five votes for every two that McClellan received, goes strongly Democratic. The whole State is lost, possibly—for such is often the result of such events—for years.

Mr. Johnson has at last produced his long expected amnesty proclamation. As the Reconstruction act specially provides that Presidential pardon or amnesty shall not qualify persons now under the ban to vote, the proclamation would possess little political importance if it were not a political manifesto, and were not filled with innuendoes directed against Congress, and did not, in fact, indicate pretty clearly Mr. Johnson's intention to carry on the war. He reiterates in it broadly the doctrine that whatever conditions he thought proper to impose on the South are legal; but no others. This last step seems to render his impeachment more certain. He has evidently passed under new management, and is displaying more vigor and coherence than he has done yet. Gold is, in the meantime, creeping steadily up; and what with the complication at Washington, the Democratic victory in California, and the weakness exhibited by one or two prominent Republicans on the subject of the public debt, the political sky is cloudier than it has been for many months. Congress has formally withdrawn from the President all the authority it has given or can give to the President to grant pardon or amnesty to persons not convicted of any offence, so that he now relies wholly on judicial interpretations of his powers under the Constitution. In President Lincoln's proclamation the authorization of Congress was formally referred to in the preamble and declared to be in accordance with judicial construction.

California has been lost through Republican corruption; Maine, on the other hand, has been won by a considerably diminished majority, and the same story will probably have to be told of all the other States whose elections are to take place this fall. The reason is, that the issues are mostly local and not very exciting. Prohibition, for instance, was the point in dispute at the Maine election. The elections, therefore, really possess little or no interest or significance as regards Federal politics; but the result thus far is likely to prove mischievous by confirming Mr. Johnson in his delusions.

As might have been expected, those who advocated impeachment a year ago are now, when everybody is admitting its necessity, crowing with triumph, as if this showed they were very wise men. Others, again, fancy that those who once opposed it and now advocate it, thereby confess that they are deficient in foresight and discrimination. The great danger of impeachment, however, lies, as we have often said, in the tendency of the stronger party to use it as a weapon of party warfare. Admit once that a President may be impeached simply because Congress does not like his administration, or, in fact, impeached at all, except in the last extremity, and you alter the whole character of the Government, and make impeachment a regular party measure whenever

the majority in Congress changes during the presidential term. Therefore, those who opposed impeachment last year were right; because there was then every reason to believe that there would be no occasion for it. There is now every reason to believe that there is no other mode of completing the work of reconstruction, and this being plain, impeachment will not be, as it would otherwise have been, a dangerous precedent. Those who are crying out, "We told you so," if they mean by this that we ought to confess they were right last year, are simply making an exhibition of their own obtuseness. If the President was to be impeached not when he had done something to merit impeachment, but when some politician or clique of politicians made up their minds that he would do something to merit it at some future time, we should have an impeachment process going on constantly. We may feel ever so satisfied from what we see of his character that a certain dissolute man will yet commit a murder; but what would be thought of a criminal code under which he was liable to be hanged by anticipation whenever a knot of his neighbors came to the conclusion that he was sure to be guilty of a crime? The state of mental confusion into which some Congressmen and Senators have got themselves about the duty of impeachment is really pitiable. Mr. Sumner evidently thinks he settles the whole matter by telling people "to read Story and Bishop;" but then there is a great deal besides reading necessary to form a sound judgment on any subject.

Somebody took the trouble last week to pay visits to Senators Wilson and Sumner and to General Butler, ply them with questions touching their opinions on the political crisis, and take down their answers in shorthand. The result was not in any way remarkable except in General Butler's case, who produced some financial theories which, though they date from the invention of "bad debts," are somewhat novel in their application to national liabilities. Hitherto, when nations have repudiated it has usually been because they did not like taxation; but General Butler recommends repudiation, amongst others, on the ground that the loan was not made out of love. We have commented elsewhere on this extraordinary mixture of absurdity and "smartness." Mr. Sumner spoke very good-humoredly both of friends and enemies, even of Mr. Fessenden rather in sorrow than anger. "The new recruits" in the Senate, as he calls them, he regards with pity, not unmixed with wonder, owing to their difference from himself on the subject of impeachment during the session; but of some of them—Conkling, for instance—he still has hopes. His account of Mr. Fessenden was highly picturesque, and, everything considered, very good-natured. There is, however, "nothing of the jurist," he says, in Mr. Fessenden's "nature or attainments;" "he comes into debate as the Missouri enters the Mississippi, and discolors it with temper filled and surcharged with sediment." We are sorry to hear, however, that Mr. Fessenden has not "the volume of the great river." It appears that Mr. Phillips calls Mr. Fessenden "a dyspeptic Scotch terrier," which we cannot help pronouncing an unseemly attack of the pot upon the kettle, if we may vary the simile. In Mr. Wilson's remarks there was nothing with which the public is not already familiar, except his opinion that the feeling of the country had undergone a great change on the subject of impeachment within a few weeks.

The Committee of the New York Constitutional Convention has brought in its report on the government of the city, which it proposes to make independent of the Legislature for twenty years—that is, until the next convention—giving the mayor greatly increased power, making the aldermen a body of twelve, but elective by the city at large, thus offering some guarantee that they would be a *corps d'élite*. The councilmen are, however, still to come from the wards, and the police justices to be elected by "the people"—that is, by the criminal population, for no other portion of the community takes any interest in these offices. The report is clearly a compromise between the desirable and the attainable, and the attainable has got the best of the bargain. We venture to predict that, if this scheme should be adopted and the city Democracy be fairly liberated from all fear of interference on the part of the Legislature, we shall witness a state of things the like of which has not been produced in any city of modern times, and that by the meeting of the next convention there will be few men of

property left in the municipality to tell the tale. The Legislature has certainly not been successful in reforming the city government, but it has imposed checks on rascality of which we shall not know the value until they are removed. The idea that an omnipotent mayor will save us is, we think, a pure delusion. The mayor may be, and in three cases out of five will be, in spite of the "respectable classes," any rascal who is willing to pay Tammany or Mozart Hall enough for the nomination. He will, too, during his term of office, endure the bombardment of the press with unruffled brow, and appear in the Central Park every afternoon with one of the finest pairs of horses in the country, and bless the convention every time he hears his champagne pop.

The "American Industrial League," the organization founded by the protectionists as an offset to the "Free Trade League," has issued an address to the public, greatly defaced by vituperation of its opponents, to whom it attributes the basest motives, but in which it states its main object moderately and fairly enough. It advocates the taxation of foreign luxuries, and the imposition on all foreign goods of a duty at least equal in amount to the "difference in price paid for their labor to the workmen of Europe and the workmen of the United States." It is right to mention that the price paid for labor, if only expressed in money, may be made an instrument of great delusion. Wages are to be estimated solely by their purchasing power, and, therefore, such tables of wages in Europe as Colonel Forney is sending home are utterly worthless, unless accompanied by a table of the prices of the commodities which working-men buy.

The Iron Age, which we hoped was about to introduce something like decency into the protectionist and free-trade discussion, quotes an article from *The Irish Republic*, of Chicago, showing that free-trade is a British invention, and so on, and then charging the free-trade journals of the Republican party with having been bribed by the British with advertising. This *The Iron Age* calls "a vigorous passage," and goes on to insinuate that Mr. Simon Stern bought up the Chicago *Tribune* on a recent visit to Chicago, and wants to know whether ten thousand dollars were or were not paid on that occasion by somebody to somebody. There is about as much sense—we say nothing of decency—in concluding that free-trade can only be advocated by a bribed man as that a protectionist writer must be in the pay of native manufacturers. The question whether free-trade or protection is the best policy is a scientific question, and the introduction of brutal personalities into the discussion of it, though more natural, is not more likely to lead to a satisfactory solution of it, than an attempt to decide on the merits of Agassiz's glacial theory by an examination of his biography. *Apræpos* of this, we see the Academy of Sciences denounced by a Western paper as a "Copperhead organization." Is it quite certain that the Darwinian hypothesis was not concocted in the interest of the slaveholders' rebellion?

During the absence of "H. G." in the Constitutional Convention "T. W." turned his attention to Colonel Hillyer, formerly of General Grant's staff and now a revenue collector in this city, and wrote to the general, calling attention rather regretfully to the colonel's alleged moral defects. Grant sent the colonel the letter, and the latter thereupon turned his pen on "T. W.," and the result appeared in *The Commercial Advertiser* of last week, and was as choice a bit of newspaper fisticuffs as we remember to have seen for a long time, and deserves to be read as one of the best specimens of an art that is rapidly passing away. At the close, Colonel Hillyer glories in "T. W.'s" hate, and "T. W." dismisses Hillyer in a formula which now seems to be almost universally used in such cases, by an allusion to his excessive consumption of whiskey. We doubt if there has been a newspaper quarrel since the outbreak of the war in which one or other of the combatants has not had his love of the bottle, or, as it is more poetically but less correctly called in temperance tracts, the "poisonous bowl," exposed for the execration of the sober public.

That there is an insurrection in Spain everybody knows, but how much of an insurrection nobody out of Spain seems to know. The newspaper accounts of it are ridiculous. Martial law has been pro-

claimed in various districts, and the troops are in daily collision with the insurgents, and proclamations are hurled to and fro with the greatest energy; but all else is mystery. The Spanish newspapers report everything in what may be called the "Latin" manner, so that it is impossible to form an idea of how much truth there is in what they say. This manner was originated by the French *Moniteur*, and has spread amongst the Latin races with great rapidity, so that in all the Latin countries newspapers abuse their enemies, or report what they do not like, in exactly the same tone. They do not think of ridiculing or calling them names, as the American or English or German press is apt to do; but treat them from a lofty moral platform, and in the language of an indignant clergyman.

The doubts which we ventured to express last week as to the probability of the meeting at Salzburg having any immediate influence on European politics seem to be strongly confirmed by the news which has since arrived. If the Emperor ever expected to get any military support from Austria, he must by this time be undeceived. There is no fight left in her, and if she can be kept alive during the next twenty years, even with the aid of peace and rigid economy, it will be a miracle of statesmanship. Luckily for her the Imperial Government seems at last to have found out that the road to safety lies through popular freedom.

A special despatch to the New York *Tribune* from Constantinople, published on Tuesday morning, and to which that journal itself evidently gives full faith and credit, announces that the Russian ambassador at Constantinople has presented an ultimatum "asking for the cession of Crete to Greece, and the full equality of Christians and Mohammedans in all the provinces of the empire." On this *The Tribune* yesterday based an "announcement" of "a movement on the part of Russia which probably assures the speedy dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and may be the signal of a general European war." We trust the public will not be in any haste to give credence to this story. There is every reason for believing it to be three-fourths fiction. The Turks and Christians are already equal in all the provinces of the empire *in form*, and that Russia thinks *now* of an attack on Turkey without a fleet in the Black Sea is so wildly improbable that everybody is justified in disbelieving it till he sees the despatch. This view of the case is confirmed by the fact that there is no trace of the news from England, where, if true, it would certainly cause a panic in the funds.

While upon the subject of Cable despatches we may mention that, as there are no questions pending between Prussia and the United States, the invitation to dinner given to Mr. Bancroft by the King of Prussia a fortnight ago, and which the Cable newsman reported with great solemnity, had no particular meaning. Neither had the ride back to Berlin in company with the King, and "in the royal coach," which Mr. Bancroft, as we learn from the same veracious chronicler, afterwards enjoyed. Consequently, we could very well have waited for the news to reach us by the regular mail.

Marshal Bazaine has suffered a good deal at the hands of the press since Maximilian's execution, but has at last found a defender in the person of Count de Kératry, who, in the *Revue Contemporaine*, with the aid of "unpublished documents," threw all the blame on Maximilian. This brought out the *Indépendance Belge*, which formally charged Bazaine with the responsibility for the decree of October 3; and moreover, with having shot General Romero, a distinguished Liberal leader, who had surrendered on promise that his life should be spared, and this in open defiance of the wishes of the Emperor and Empress. Whereupon Count de Kératry appears once more, showing that Romero was a common bandit of the worst order; that Maximilian never sought to save him, and that therefore the marshal had not on Romero's account insulted Maximilian; and, finally, that the "fatal decree" of October 3 was conceived and composed by Maximilian himself, and drawn in his handwriting, and that the original still exists. This, if true, is a "crusher." The *Indépendance* also publishes a letter alleged to be written by General Porfirio Diaz, charging the marshal with having offered to place Maximilian, Miramon, Marquez, and, in fact, the

whole imperialist circle, in his hands for a consideration, the nature of which is not stated. This, however, is certainly untrue and wildly untrue; and if Diaz ever wrote it, he did so under the impression that French officers can occasionally be as great scoundrels as some of his own comrades. They can, no doubt, be scoundrels; but then their scoundrelism is not apt to be of the Mexican kind, or anything like it. No marshal of France who did a thing of this kind could ever show his face in France, though to a Mexican soldier this may seem incredible.

The publication of the *Alabama* correspondence shows that Mr. Seward has sought to have the recognition of the South as a belligerent treated as part of the same transaction as the letting loose of the *Alabama*, and has also sought to make the cession of some British territory on this continent the basis of a settlement, all of which proposals Lord Stanley declines. The matter will probably remain as it is until the reconstruction business is settled, inasmuch as the public mind here is too much occupied with home affairs to exercise any pressure with regard to any portion of the foreign policy of the Government. Mr. Seward, too, is satisfied, and he may be, that time tells in his favor. Every day inclines public opinion in England more and more in the direction of conciliation of the United States, even at a heavy cost.

Two incidents have recently occurred in France which present the bad points of the Bonapartist régime in a striking light. A country schoolmaster, who had served with credit for ten years, turned Protestant. He was instantly dismissed by the préfet, and, immediately on his dismissal, he was seized and put into the army, having been exempt from military service while acting as a teacher. The newspapers cried shame, however, and the préfet threatened them, but the case was too outrageous and they refused to be silent; so the noise reached Paris, and the préfet was ordered to restore the teacher to his position, and put him at the head of a Protestant school. In the other case an unoffending man was set upon, kicked, cuffed, and locked up for the night by the police, because the crowd in his neighborhood had cried "Vive la Pologne" during the Czar's visit. He sued the policeman, but the court decided that the policeman, being a "state functionary," could not be sued without the permission of the Council of State, which is hardly ever given, and in this instance was refused. So the plaintiff has to pocket his kicks. It is a singular fact that, although the meanest intelligence can see that, unless functionaries are liable to prosecution before the public tribunals like other citizens, all guarantees for personal liberty are worthless, not one of the Continental nations has in any of their revolutions attempted to make any change in the rule. There is a vague feeling, even amongst the radicals, that if policemen might be sued, the framework of society would break up.

Mike McCoole, the "champion of America," was honored with a grand procession in St. Louis, on Saturday last, while General Sheridan received a similar mark of respect in the same place on the following Monday, McCoole's being the heartier of the two, and reported in the St. Louis papers with the usual accessories. It appears, what we did not know before, that the "Ohio mill" was an international affair, Jones representing the hated Saxon, and the pounding he got, including the breaking of his ribs, being part payment for "seven hundred years of wrongs" inflicted on McCoole's native land by the British. In the address delivered to the champion by the "Committee of Reception" poor Jones is spoken of as the representative of the "despotic power that has oppressed your [McCoole's] countrymen in so marked a manner during long years of cruelty and barbarity." This is rather hard on Jones, as he is, we believe, a Hebrew, and to make him expiate English oppression of Ireland in the "ring," his own race having suffered so much from it, is an outrage on justice which we hope the Fenian senate will see to. McCoole's next victim is to be a person of the name of "Jim Elliott." He is an American, and we presume will be held to be the representative of New England fanaticism, and atone for it literally "in the flesh." He will have his nose broken for the Quaker hanging, his eye bunged up for the witch-burning, and his teeth knocked out for emancipation, the Constitutional Amendment, and the prohibitory law.

Notes.

LITERARY.

IN addition to former announcements Messrs. Hurd & Houghton are preparing the following new works: "Principles of the Law of Contracts," with examples of their application, by Theron Metcalf, LL.D., late judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; "The Three Holy Kings," a holiday book with photographic illustrations; "Poems of Faith, Hope, and Love," by Phoebe Cary; "Poems," by Elizabeth C. Kinney; "Grandpa's House," by Helen C. Weeks; "The Diary of a Milliner," by Belle Otis.—Mr. Scribner opens his fall series of publications with Dr. Holland's "Kathrina," a poem, as we understand, mainly narrative, but interspersed with some dramatic and lyrical composition. The theme is one which the author has treated objectively in his novel of "Miss Gilbert's Career"—the proper influence of woman as the guide, supporter, and controller of man, and the man her husband.

—The Committee of Weights, Measures, and Coins at the Paris Exposition have made a report in which they urge all governments to adopt the metric system, and put aside their old weights and measures. They call attention to the fact that, as experience has shown, a long delay does not facilitate the change, and that it is not enough merely to legalize the metric system. The steps which it is desirable to take are (1) to order this system to be taught in all public schools, and to form part of all public examinations; (2) to introduce its use into all scientific documents, statistics, postal arrangements, custom-houses, and other branches of the national administration. As for the first recommendation, Congress can, of course, only advise; the State legislatures must direct. The post-office will probably have to wait till our currency has been adapted to the standard of the five-franc piece. But in all the remaining particulars there is no reason why the suggestions of the committee should not be complied with. There is no country in which there would be so little difficulty in making the change understood and in persuading the people to accept it as in ours, with a properly concentrated effort through the schools and the newspapers. Already we have several text-books and manuals on the subject, and these would multiply as needed. Mr. Kasson will, we hope, at the next session of Congress, reappear as the champion of this international reform, being fortified by his observations while in Europe this summer.

—The Abbé Migne's vast publishing house near Paris is the subject of an interesting article by Rev. Dr. McClintock in *The Methodist Quarterly Review* for July. It has been established only twenty-one years, and has reached a manufacturing capacity of two thousand quarto volumes every twenty-four hours. Among the works produced here is a complete course of the Greek and Latin Fathers—a library in itself, and the editions are valuable in a critical point of view. Copious indexes, both alphabetical and analytical, unlock to every enquirer the contents of these tomes, which number for the Latin two hundred and twenty-two, and for the Greek one hundred and sixty-seven. They are uniform in size, imperial octavo, and are a marvel of cheapness. By the set, in paper covers, the Latin Fathers cost only five francs the volume; the Greek Fathers, with a separate Latin version in eighty-four volumes, cost eight francs each. For half-sheep bindings thirty-five cents extra are charged. But this is only a part of the abbé's undertaking, and might seem not so wonderful if compared with the statistics of other publishers. He has issued, also, a "Complete Course of Commentaries on the Scriptures," twenty-eight volumes, imperial octavo; a "Complete Course of Theology," to match the foregoing in number and size; the evidences of Christianity, or "Démonstrations Évangéliques," containing the entire works of one hundred and seventeen writers; and three theological encyclopedias, of which the first was in fifty-two volumes, at 312 francs, in paper; the second in fifty-three volumes, at the same price; the third, now just being completed, and still theological—proving, although positively advertised as "the last," that there is no end to theology—in sixty volumes. Upon these are yet to be mentioned a "Church History," from the Creation to Pope Pius IX., twenty-one volumes; and a "Collection of Christian Orators," one hundred volumes, embodying the best utterances of two hundred and fifty preachers, with a history of preaching from the beginning. The great libraries of all countries are, of course, reliable customers for such solid works as these, which have proved under prudent management a fortune to the abbé. The unvarying size of volume, which permits a simplicity that becomes a wealth of resource in the mechanical department, and the cheapness of the series, have ensured popularity to the issues of this house, which, for the rest, has the confidence of scholars of whatever faith, and is creditably free from sectarian narrowness

and deception. The abbé's example, it seems to us, might be judiciously imitated under changed conditions by publishers who are content to relinquish the ephemeral, and to seek their reputation and success in the wisdom which is not for a day but for all time.

—We ventured, some weeks ago, to review the concluding volume of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," and to examine the definite results of Egyptology. The subject is one which we could not hope would interest all our readers, and might have feared would be passed over by some as too "heavy." We should like the latter to see the way in which the same work is reviewed in the *London Chronicle* of August 24. Erudition, we need not say, is not spared; so neither are hieroglyphics, which are freely distributed throughout the article in aid of the text. A strictly "popular" treatment would, perhaps, have precluded the use of these characters; but they are by no means so formidable as they look. The words they depict illustrate the basis of Egyptian philology, and testify to the soundness of the methods now used in interpreting hieroglyphics. They also bear on the question of an Egyptian dictionary, and the reviewer, in fact, criticises the specimen-page of Dr. Brugsch's lexicon, which we announced last week. While we are on the subject, we may note a recent monograph on Egyptian chronology, by Mr. Unger ("Chronologie des Manetho." Berlin. 1867.) It maintains the correctness of Manetho's order, and arrives at a primitive period of 24,925 years and three "tomes," namely, the first consisting of eleven dynasties, 2,300 years; the second of eight dynasties, 2,121 years; and the third of eleven dynasties, 850 years, ending with Alexander in 333 B.C.

—*The Chronicle*, we may as well say here, is distinguished from its fellow weeklies in London, first, by a little more openness in typography and a little less formal arrangement of its articles, and then by perhaps not greater scholarship, but apparently by a more intimate connection with the best scholars, and these devoted to special subjects. With two exceptions its staff of contributors embraces all those by whom the late *Home and Foreign Review* was supported—a publication that took a high position among scholars. In politics its specialty is, to quote its prospectus, "to form, in the centre of the empire, a sound public opinion on the affairs of Ireland—just to her grievances, mindful of her interests, and favorable to her prosperous development." With this view a "considerable number of Irish writers of known ability, learning, and popular sympathies" have been engaged to conduct the discussion of Irish questions. Finally, Continental works receive earlier and more liberal attention than in the other papers of the same class as *The Chronicle*. Its editor is Mr. Frederick Wetherell. The first number appeared on the 30th of March.

—Dr. Forbes Winslow writes a letter to *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and promises another on the same subject, concerning "a sound and disposing mind." He holds that what is called partial insanity, or monomania, is not sufficient to prove, of itself, a testamentary incapacity. "I have often," he says, "witnessed among the insane the possession of delicate, just, and honorable ideas respecting their own social position, and the pecuniary claims of those most near and dear to them." He approves the action of ecclesiastical judges in former times, who, when a will was brought before them to be contested, enquired first if there was *prima facie* evidence in the wording, arrangement, etc., of the will that its author was insane; and next whether the testator's lunacy was visible in the distribution of his property. If neither of these points was established, the will generally stood against unquestionable evidence of mental unsoundness or eccentricity in other things. He quotes, as if endorsing it, the decision of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, in the case of Morgan v. Boys, where the testator left a large fortune to his house-keeper, and directed in the same will that his executors should make fiddle-strings of part of his bowels, and smelling salts of others, and that the rest of his body be vitrified into lenses for optical purposes. He did this, he said, to mark his moral aversion to funeral pomp. It appeared that he had conducted his affairs with great shrewdness and ability.

—Those to whom the article in *The North American Review* for July suggested some new ideas in regard to the origin of the Italian language, will be glad to consult a work not named by the writer, which, however, sustains his view that the Italian is the vulgar Latin of former days by continuous descent. This is "Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins," by Dr. H. Schuchardt (Leipzig: Teubner). It is spoken of as written in none too perspicuous German, but as ably covering the field of discussion. The author presents the written sources of truth concerning this mostly unwritten tongue, and collates all the instances in which the proper pronunciation of classical forms may be inferred. For example, finding *malefacta* rhymed with *apta*, we see the original of the Italian *fatto*, *atto*, etc. *Meum*, pronounced as a monosyllable, gives us the French nasal *mon*, and explains the

elision of final syllables in *m* before a vowel by the poets, or, perhaps, we should say, the swallowing up of that vowel by the nasal, as in *meum est*. Dr. Schuchardt also elaborately divides the folk-Latin into periods, and makes Ennius do for the permanence of the language what Luther did for the German, rescuing it from further deterioration from this obscurity and syncope. Finally, a sketch is attempted of the mode in which the several Romance languages were developed from the popular speech, which assumed its sway upon the dissolution of the Western Empire and the rise of Christianity.

—A *propos* of the late abolition of imprisonment for debt in France, the celebrated avocat and politician, M. Berryer, has published some reminiscences in which he describes former inmates of the prison of Clichy. "In my time," he remarks, "Maximilian, ruling Duke of Zweibrücken, afterward King of Bavaria, was incarcerated by his creditors. For long years I have seen Lord Mazereene, an immensely rich man, in the debtor's prison. Mazereene was imprisoned for a considerable debt in bills imposed upon him, as he represented, by cheating in play, the payment of which he refused. He spent in prison an income of 100,000 francs, kept open table, and furnished his mistresses with an equipage and a box in each theatre. A Mr. Swan, an American, was twenty-two years at Clichy. In the numerous pamphlets directed against his creditors, he invariably began with the statement that he had estates in the United States worth more than five millions; that he could pay the demands of his creditors twenty times over; but that these demands were unjust, and he would never recognize wrong as right by their payment. Mr. Swan was fifty-two years old when brought to prison, and left it, in consequence of the July Revolution, seventy-four years old. He died two months afterwards."

—Competition among the publishers of the German classics has brought them within reach of the most moderate means. Schiller's poems, complete, are offered for two and a half silbergroschen, or six cents. This very cheapness, however, prevents the much-needed correction of the text of some of them. There are over four hundred unmistakable errors in the current editions of Goethe's "Werther" alone, and, until a society is formed for the purpose, there is little hope that the emendations will be made. The Goethe manuscripts are still preserved at the Cotta publishing establishment in Stuttgart. Goethe's habit of disregarding the subjective occasion of his writings in his later corrections of them, has left open a door for endless controversies whenever an attempt shall be made to establish definitively the text. The German "Dante Society" will meet at Halle on the 3d and 4th of October, when some of the admirers of the poet may, like their Shakespearean friends, affirm that he is better understood and appreciated in Germany than in his own country.

—The custos of the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana at Milan found, some years ago, an apocryphal codex, the Latin translation of a Greek original of the "Prophetia et assumptio Mosis"—the prophecy and ascension of Moses. Herr G. Volkmar, of the Zürich University, has, by a careful study of the text, concluded that this book was a direct source, and even an authority, for the author of the Epistle Jude, and for the author of the second Epistle of Peter ("Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt. Eine Quelle für das Neue Testament. Von Dr. G. Volkmar." Leipzig. 1867.) He regards both of the epistles as post-apostolic, the second a new version of the first, but both of them simply extracts from the apocryphal codex, which is a Hebrew apocalypse. The codex itself belongs to the sixth century; the original may have been written in 137 A.D., as Herr Volkmar endeavors to prove in his book.—A new edition of Professor A. T. Hoffman's "Grammatica Syriaca" has just been edited by Dr. A. Merx, of Jena ("Grammatica Syriaca quam post opus Hoffmanni refecit A. Merx. Part I." Halis. 1867.) The work is based on the results of the studies of the eminent German Orientalists, Gesenius, Bernstein, and Ewald, and on the principle that, just as in the study of the Indo-Germanic languages we must go back to the primitive language, the Sanscrit, a similar course must be followed in the study of the Semitic languages, the Syriac included; namely, the latter must be traced to the primitive Semitic language. Improved by Dr. Merx, by his adding the latest philological results, the grammar possesses great value for scholars interested in comparative philology. The first part of the work treats of consonants, vowels, accents, punctuation, etc., and is profusely interspersed with well-printed Syriac characters.—A collection of German poems of the time of the Reformation, presenting by characteristic selections an image of that epoch, has been published by Messrs. Goedeke & Tittmann ("Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von K. Goedeke und J. Tittmann. I. Liederbuch des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts." Leipzig. 1867.) The "Lied" has from the earliest times formed an essential element in the public and private life of the Germans. It was

even conserved by the people during the Middle Ages against the will and command of the Church, which, by councils and orders, interdicted those "Teufelslieder," especially the "Minnelieder" (love songs), then more in favor with the people than epics like the "Nibelungen," "Dietrich von Bern," etc., which had gone out of vogue. The poetry of the sixteenth century became more polished and more restrained in a moral point of view, and from being in High-German is of greater interest to modern readers. In this epoch the spiritual songs, too, began to emancipate the Germans from the Latin language, hitherto only used for church songs.

—The library of Professor Edward Gerhard, who died May 12, at the age of 72, has been offered to the Prussian Government, but declined for want of funds with which to purchase it. The collection numbers more than 3,000 separate works, devoted almost singly to archaeology, and embracing almost everything valuable relating to that subject. The first degree of Ph.D. awarded by the University of Berlin was given to the deceased in 1815. He very early displayed his antiquarian tastes, and having weakened his eyes by a too zealous study of the manuscripts of Pindar, he went, in 1820, to Italy to recruit his health. His visit happily coincided in point of time with the opening of the Etruscan sepulchres, in the carvings and paintings of whose vases, mirrors, etc., Gerhard discerned a new means of portraying ancient life and manners. In the winter of 1826, at Rome, he founded, with Bunsen, Plattner, and Ulrichs, a society of topographical research, for which Niebuhr procured the patronage of the Crown Prince (Frederick William IV.), and which developed into the renowned "Institution for Archaeological Correspondence," having members in all countries. Eight hundred plates had been prepared by Gerhard, representing with the most scrupulous fidelity the ancient monuments of art which he had so thoroughly studied, but by a mistake only three hundred got printed, while the rest were destroyed. In 1839 he was appointed director of the Archaeological Museum at Berlin, and in completing, arranging, and cataloguing its treasures his labors were invaluable. From them he published two collections of engravings—the first, of Etruscan vases, with four hundred plates, partly colored, now out of print; the second, of Etruscan mirrors, with about the same number of illustrations. In 1841 he founded the Berlin Archaeological Society. Some of his smaller works and fragmentary writings he had begun to gather together for publication before his death. The first volume has now appeared, and Dr. Otto Jahn will edit the remainder.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS SEEN BY ENGLISH EYES.*

ONE of the chief defects in the American school system is the lack of authentic means of comparison between the work of different cities and States, both in respect of the methods employed and the results attained. The Connecticut system is not that of Massachusetts, in details, and St. Louis differs from New York. The local responsibility, the freedom, which is nearly absolute, from rigorous inspection by the State authorities, and the entire lack of national superintendence, with all their advantages bring this disadvantage. It is exceedingly hard to ascertain the manifold local modifications of the general principles of public instruction, and it is even more difficult to reduce to a fair standard of comparison the cumbersome statistical tables which are published respecting every State and town, and almost every district.

Consequently, to understand the American public school, prolonged personal enquiry and observation are essential. A greater service could hardly be rendered to the country at the present moment than to secure, by the agency of the Peabody Educational Trustees, the National Department of Education, or some other instrumentality, an impartial, minutely accurate, and yet philosophical survey of the various systems in vogue from Massachusetts to California. The work can be well done only by our own citizens, for none other can appreciate the unrecorded influences of historical usages and traditions, and the uncodified regulations required by public opinion. But till such a survey is made, the educators of the country may derive great help from the observations of intelligent foreigners, who come of their own accord, or at the instance of their governments, to examine the theory, the process, and the results of our boasted common schools.

Several such reports have been published in Europe. In England, Mr. Tremeneere; in Saxony, Dr. Wimmer; in France, Mons. de Laveleye; and in Sweden, Dr. Siljeström, have printed more or less extended treatises on the peculiarities of our educational system, with critical comments and ju-

* "Report to her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the education given in schools in England (not included within her Majesty's two recent commissions), and to those appointed to enquire into the Schools of Scotland, on the Common School System of the United States and Canada. By Rev. James Fraser, M.A., Assistant Commissioner." London. 1867.

dicious comparisons, so that there are few of our own citizens who may not with profit peruse these statements. The latest document of this character is the report of Rev. James Fraser to the "Schools Enquiry Commission," lately presented to both Houses of Parliament by royal command, and received from England by a recent steamer.

In matters of judgment so much depends upon the judge that our readers may be interested in knowing something of the author of this extended paper. Mr. Fraser, as we are informed, is a clergyman of the Church of England, the rector of the quiet parish of Ufton, near Reading. He is, or he was until quite lately, still a fellow in one of the Oxford colleges. The impression which he made upon all who saw him during his visit to this country was that of a scholar, candid, unprejudiced, and thorough, who made it his business to find out, as truly as he could, the condition of our schools. He was neither blind to virtues nor defects. His intelligent and courteous manners made it a pleasure to help him; his acquaintance with schools of every grade in England, from that of the country parish up to the university, gave a point to all his investigations, and the comparatively deliberate manner in which he journeyed made his observations of more than ordinary value. We have, therefore, been waiting with some eagerness for his report, and have read it with unusual interest. His attention was chiefly directed to common schools—not to colleges or endowed academies or charitable establishments or scientific schools, but to schools intended for all classes in the community, from the lowest primary to the high-school. The five months of his visit were spent in the three southern States of New England or in States further west most affected by their educational influence—New York, Ohio, and Illinois. He also spent some time in Pennsylvania, and made a special study of the cities of St. Louis and Detroit. Part of his time was spent in Canada.

The tour of Mr. Fraser was made in the summer of 1865, when the war was but just concluded, and it is worthy of note that the vigorous support of our schools during the absorbing conflicts of civil commotions made a strong impression on his mind. Never, he says, were appropriations or benefactions more liberally bestowed; never was there more earnest determination to carry onward the education of the people.

Six comprehensive topics were mentioned in his instructions as requiring special attention; namely—1, School legislation; 2, Pecuniary support; 3, Administration, and the selection of teachers; 4, Internal organization, modes of teaching, books, etc.; 5, Results; 6, Religious training. In short, he was directed to find out all that he could in the time and with the means at his command. He sums up his remarks on the system of the United States in four chapters, devoted first to an exhibition of the theory; then to an exhibition of the practice; third, to a critical estimate of results; and lastly, to a very brief horoscope of the future.

The theory of our schools he finds best stated in formal terms in the Massachusetts laws, which he quotes with extended notes and comments. We need not detain our readers with this familiar topic.

Under the head of practical operations, the cost of our schools is the first subject he takes up, and here he runs against the common difficulty of securing definite statements made up on the same schedule. However, he makes an estimate worth quoting, which is based on the reports of eleven of the first cities of the Union. Here are his figures for the "average cost of tuition only":—Detroit, \$6 59; Toledo, \$8 34; Chicago, \$8 69; Providence, New Haven, \$8 85; Philadelphia, \$9 17; St. Louis, \$9 28; Louisville, \$11 17; Cincinnati, \$11 42; Boston, \$11 48; New York, \$12 04; average, \$10 39; or, £1 11s. 6d.

The cost of high-schools he estimates as on the average \$62 50, or nine guineas, a year for boys; and \$36 25, or £5 10s., for girls. In the rural districts the cost of tuition is much less, especially in the simple district schools. These prices are evidently in great contrast with what is paid in England for the corresponding advantages—so that it is the sober conclusion of the writer that an American farmer educates his family at the cost to the community of not more than one-third of the amount at which the Committee of Council estimate the cost of educating the children of an English mechanic or laborer.

The administration of our schools by the various boards, committees, superintendents, and the like, he found "somewhat complex," but appearing to "run smoothly," though not quite "hierarchical," or authoritative enough to produce the best results. Our teachers for the most part appear quite inadequately trained for their work, and the certificates of examination are really worth but little. Yet there is great natural aptitude for the teacher's work, especially in the women who engage in it. They have a gift of turning what they know to the best account, are admirable disciplinarians, and their classes are not likely to fall asleep in their hands—and on the whole, as he rightly adds, they are a

fine and capable body of workers in a noble cause. Their salaries, judged by an English standard, are low, and consequently changes are frequent. Their social position, on the other hand, is much higher than in England. The formal and "memoriter" character of our recitations and examinations is justly censured. But how can this be otherwise, unless our colleges, the highest teachers of the land, will modify the example which they set? So long as "cramming" will pass for learning; so long as the ability to receive page after page of Greek grammar, rules, exceptions, and examples is deemed the greatest evidence of intellectual culture in college, as it was where we were educated, so long will our instruction in high schools and grammar-schools be governed by text-books, and deal more in conventional phraseology than in positive knowledge.

The gradation or classification of our schools commends itself strongly to the approval of Mr. Fraser, but our own teachers are unanimous on this subject, and we therefore pass by the comments of our traveller.

There is another subject on which we think Mr. Fraser's observations are less just than we have commonly found them to be. We refer to the social status of the scholars in our public schools. By the theory, he says, scholars of every rank are supposed to come within the sphere of the system. This is ambiguous. All children may avail themselves of the privilege; it is not expected that all will. Every parent is as free to decide this question as he is to determine whether he will use the common park, the common post-office, or the common pump. The public merely provide public schools "good enough for anybody;" no one is forced to accept their privileges. This being the theory, what is the result? In our opinion it varies from year to year and from place to place. A good building, a judicious committee, a corps of capital teachers, will revolutionize a town or a district speedily, and the school forsaken one year may be crowded the next. Mr. Fraser, on the other hand, asserts that "in all the cities the wealthier class, indeed all who can afford to do so, almost without exception, send their children to private schools." We are confident he has generalized too rapidly. Many wealthy people, we admit, withhold their children from public schools; but, on the other hand, in a city not very far from New York an important public controversy has just terminated where the worst charge against the public schools was this: that those who could afford to send to private schools would send to the public schools, thus taking the places which should be saved for the poor. We can take Mr. Fraser to scores of schools in New York, New Haven, Hartford, Springfield, Boston, Roxbury, Cambridge, and other towns where we are acquainted, and show him that, beyond a doubt, the "public schools, in practice as well as in theory, are for all. The distinctive feature of our system, in city or in country, is that the wants of the whole community are provided for, not those of any class. Because there is the post-office, no one is prevented from employing the telegraph or the private messenger; and just so with the school. Actually taken the country through, the distinctions of financial caste are not yet manifest in our schools or colleges. Long distant be the day! When the public school is the best school, men of culture will send to it. When it is not, they will seek instruction elsewhere.

But we cannot pursue these observations, for we still desire to call the attention of our readers to Mr. Fraser's estimate of the system as a whole, and his recommendations to the authorities at home.

Having reminded the English reader that from the days of Washington till now "virtue and intelligence" have been relied on as the safeguards of this republic, in which perfect social equality and absolute religious freedom are guaranteed by law, he delineates, in a few nice touches, some of the actual "phenomena" of American life; our "restlessness and activity, without, perhaps, the culture and refinement of the old Athenian, but with all his versatility; the absorbing interest of political life, the constantly rising aims of each individual, the ebb and flow of commercial enterprise, and the immense development of the spirit of speculation; the intense energy of the national temperament, its rapidity of movement, its precipitancy, its impatience of standing still." The American school, he says, is a microcosm of American life. It shows the same freedom and equality, the same rapidity of movement and desire of progress, the same ambition, sensitiveness, and subordination of the individual to the mass, the same utilitarian fever, the same absence of repose, elements of strength and weakness, of success and failure, so mingled that it is impossible, by one epithet, to characterize the resultant whole.

In his opinion, also, our school system is in harmony with the other institutions of the country, and it suits the people so far as they understand their own wants. He points out "the cheapness" of our schools even in liberal cities, and the lively "spirit of work" which is generated among both teachers and scholars. He sums up the results of the system (quite correctly, in our opinion) as tending to the general diffusion of intelligence

rather than to "high culture" or "profound erudition." The same is true, he might have added, of our colleges and of all our social educational influences. It is not the few who are carried to high perfection; it is the entire population who are lifted up from ignorance and want.

He fears that we care too little for development as compared with information, thinking too little of the *faculties* and too much of *facts*. He makes some just criticisms on our cultivation of the taste, doubting the national competency "to appreciate the beauty of simplicity;" and he misses with regret "the religious tone" to which he is accustomed in the conduct of the school-room at home.

In respect to the instruction of boys and girls in the same classes, a point on which our own administrators of schools are not agreed, Mr. Fraser makes some interesting observations. Doubting the wisdom of giving to girls the same instruction as to boys, he yet admits that where he heard the two sexes taught or catechised together he "should have given to the girls the palm for quickness of perception and precision of reply." In all their studies they "seemed fully competent to hold their own." To Americans he says: "The Roman matron of the old republic is, perhaps, the type of female excellence; self-reliance, fearlessness, decision, energy, promptitude are, perhaps, the highest female qualities." For himself he prefers a different theory of womanly culture; but he admits that the American method at least achieves the end at which it aims.

The religious character of our public instruction naturally attracts the attention of all foreigners accustomed to the union of church and state. Mr. Fraser objects to calling the American schools "irreligious" or even "non-religious" or purely secular. He sees and appreciates what is done in them for the inculcation of Christian morality; and while he prefers the "denominational" theory for English schools, he would consider himself "tendering a most fatal piece of advice" if he recommended its adoption here. All his views on this subject exhibit a beautiful spirit of fairness and liberality, such as we should like to see more general among our own religious people.

The object of Mr. Fraser's enquiries was practical. Popular education in England is sure to make progress with the growth of reform and the diffusion of suffrage, and it is with reference to possible changes in the national system that the "Schools Enquiry Commission" was instituted. It is interesting, therefore, to see what points so cautious and judicious an observer recommends to the imitation of his countrymen.

"The thing," he says, "which I should like to borrow is the noble public spirit, almost universally prevalent, which considers that to contribute to the general education of the people is the first duty, as of the commonwealth at large, so of every citizen in particular, and which places religion, morality, and intelligence in the forefront of the elements that constitute the strength and guarantee the prosperity of the nation."

Descending to particulars, he especially recommends that our system of graded schools be imitated in the large towns of England. "It is the one thing which our elementary schools have not," he says, "and which they most need. I do not care so much about *common* schools; I have no particular preference for *free* schools; but I do see most clearly the advantages of a *graded* school."

The second recommendation which he offers is that central boards of education should be instituted in counties or districts with more or less visitatorial power, and with the obligation to publish an annual report. The great mass of Englishmen have now no authentic guarantee upon which to rely in selecting a school for their sons. The publicity of our public schools seems to Mr. Fraser one of their most commendable features.

The author of this report does not appear to have considered it his business to devise suggestions so much as to report observations. Indeed, he is continually embarrassed by the different circumstances, capacities, and prospects of the two countries. "I do not pretend to know where we are drifting," is a remark which he makes more than once. He sees impending in England the establishment of a secular system of instruction, akin, at least, to the American, and while he does not conceal his preferences for the denominational schools now in vogue, he does not hesitate as a clergyman to declare that he should neither despair of Christianity nor morality if the change, so much dreaded by many of his class, should actually come. He acknowledges, as the result of his travels in America, that what England needs is "intelligent" education—a real quickening of the minds of the people," and he admits that his own difficulties as a clergyman lie in the slow and heavy intellectual movement of his hearers, their scanty vocabulary, their inability to appreciate an argument, their want of general and broad culture.

We have noticed some statements with which we do not agree, and throughout the entire report there is an obvious lack of acquaintance with

the progressive development of our school system which would have enabled the writer to describe rather better some of its characteristics. The American public schools, as a system, have *grown* during two hundred years into their present form; they were not contrived or invented. They are adjusted, imperfectly we admit, but still adjusted, to all our other institutions. To be understood, our social life must be understood, and this no traveller, however accomplished, can be expected to understand. Mr. Fraser has done more than most observers. His patience, his fairness, his sagacity, and his ever-present love of truth are reflected throughout the American portion of the volume. We have not read the Canadian chapters.

As the conclusion of all his researches, it is gratifying to find him ready to admit "it is no flattery or exaggeration to say that the Americans, if not the most highly educated, are certainly the most generally educated and intelligent people on the earth." This is the true fruit of republican common schools.

DRAPER'S CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.*

DR. DRAPER has furnished, during the last few years, more striking examples of sweeping and fallacious generalization than any modern author of equal pretensions; and some of his fallacies have been of a kind into which one would not have expected a gentleman to fall who was as familiar as he must be with physical science, even if he had not prepared himself for the work of moral and political speculation, into which he has so largely entered, by a study of formal logic. There is probably nothing which renders a book so popular in a community like this, in which, while the number of readers is enormous, the number of persons at all versed in the reasoning process is small, as just such wide and confident conclusions about human society as he furnishes. The mass of the public hates doubts or distinctions or exceptions. It hates to have an author drag it through the tedious process of analysis. It likes to have him come with his hands full of results, as the popular lecturer and the preacher do—results about which there is "no manner of doubt;" and they are doubly welcome when, as in Dr. Draper's case, they not only explain nearly everything that is puzzling in history, but light up the whole future to the remotest ages. For instance, in his "Civil Policy of America" he rang changes throughout on that most pleasing but most palpable of popular fallacies, that there is an analogy between the life of nations and that of individuals. The average reader likes these analogical illustrations—they make things seem so simple; but the falsehood of this one has been over and over exposed by the leading writers on logic. In fact, Mr. J. S. Mill makes it one of his illustrations of "fallacies of generalization," because, he says, "the decay of vital powers in an animated body can be distinctly traced to the natural progresses of those very changes of structure which, in their earlier stages, constitute its growth to maturity; while, in the body politic the progress of these changes cannot, generally speaking, have any effect but the still further continuance of growth; it is the stoppage of progress and the commencement of retrogression that alone would constitute decay. Bodies politic die, but it is of disease or violent death; they have no old age" ("System of Logic," Vol. II., p. 361).

In the work before us Dr. Draper pursues what Mr. Mill has happily designated—in his enumeration of the methods which in enquiries in political science should *not* be used—the "geometrical method." That is, Dr. Draper takes one cause, climate—just as Hobbes took fear, and the Benthamites took self-interest—and makes it account for nearly every social phenomenon with which he has to deal; but, unlike Hobbes and Bentham, he hardly argues at all, but asserts, and that with an air of confidence well calculated to persuade the general reader that his method, instead of being notoriously fallacious, was universally accepted as safe and sound. There are, we hope, very few men of Dr. Draper's attainments, and, above all, possessing Dr. Draper's taste for sociological investigation, who do not know that social phenomena are the most difficult of all phenomena to account for; the reason being that, while we know, as a matter of fact, that the influences which produce any particular type of national and individual character are almost infinite in number and variety, we are absolutely unable to test the power of any one of them by experiment, or to test fully our experiment by observation. Climate, no doubt, influences character very largely, but so many other things influence it also that it is not in the power of any human being to say how much of the character of any given community must be ascribed to climate and how much to other things.

Dr. Draper, however, although a philosopher by profession, is not troubled by any of these difficulties, and the result, as displayed in the introductory chapters of his book, is really amazing. To general resemblances between

* "History of the American Civil War. By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D." In three volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

countries very little importance, he says, is to be attached; "for political reasoning, we must follow the surer guide of isothermal zones." So he draws an isothermal line across Europe and America, and then begins his "reasoning." Here is a specimen of it:

"Many illustrations might be offered of the influence of nature over modes of thought. The January isothermal line of 41° marks out in a general manner the final boundary between the Catholic and Protestant peoples of Europe. To those living on the south of it, an embellishment of worship is acceptable; to those on the north, a more simple or austere form" (p. 93).

The isothermal line in question, however, as it appears in his map, conveniently leaves the province of Ulster, in Ireland, which is, of course, Protestant, to the north (of this fact he makes special mention, evidently considering it very striking); but then it so happens that in the reign of Elizabeth the Earl of Tyrone rebelled; his rebellion was put down after a fierce struggle, and his lands and those of the chiefs who acted with him were confiscated, and on this confiscated region Scotch colonists were settled in great numbers in the following reign, and to-day their descendants constitute the Ulster Protestants; while a little further west, in regions not confiscated, being less attractive, but in the same climate, the Catholic Celt still holds his place. Now, it may be that it was the climate which made Tyrone rebel, and Elizabeth subdue him, and James settle Protestants on his estates; it may be that had Ulster been south of the line he would not have rebelled, and the Scotch would not have come over to Ireland, and Ulster would still be Catholic; but of this we are sure, that whether the Ulster Plantations were due to the climate or to Tyrone's having taken a little too much usquebaugh, neither Dr. Draper nor anybody else in the existing state of science can tell. The same line, we observe, leaves France and Catholic Germany, and Catholic Switzerland, and Russia, which is Catholic in Dr. Draper's sense, all to the north of it, or, in other words, on the Protestant side. In fact, it has nothing on the south of it except Spain and Italy, which, after making all due allowance for inaccuracies and disturbing causes, is rather unfortunate, if we are to depend in our political reasoning on isothermal lines. But even if it did cut off France and Germany *in toto*, we could find in history half a dozen causes, each sufficient to account for these countries being Catholic, and none of them connected with climate. We might be wrong in the amount of importance we ascribed to them, but we should defy Dr. Draper to prove that we were.

On p. 113 he actually undertakes to predict with scientific certainty what kind of men will inhabit the Southern States of this Union from an examination of the kind of men to be found in ages past in the same zone on the continent of the Old World, and notably the coast of Northern Africa. He concludes it will be a warlike population, from the fact that Carthage was a warlike state, and that the city, when at last taken, "was literally conquered street by street and house by house." The women of the Southern States, he predicts, "will rival, perhaps exceed, in patriotism the men." He deduces this conclusion from three facts: one is, that Asdrubal's wife, when he submitted to the Romans, "appeared on the roof of the burning temple of Æsculapius, and, upbraiding him with bitter taunts for his surrender, threw herself headlong into the flames;" the others are the following:

"It was in this zone, though far to the east, that Zenobia, the Palmyrean queen, resisted the Emperor Aurelian; on the banks of the Euphrates the jewelled dromedary of that dark-eyed, fleeting beauty was overtaken by the light horse of Rome—in this, her exemplar Cleopatra, the Egyptian daughter of the Macedonian kings, was bitten by an asp brought to her in a basket of flowers, to escape being led in the triumph of the conqueror."

This is very fine, but it is not reasoning. If we had the space to do it in, we could tell on the same plan some wonderful stories about the kind of men and women that will flourish in portions of the Northwest. The exploits of the Karduchians, for instance, as recorded in Xenophon's "Anabasis," would go far to show that the future population of portions of the Hudson's Bay Territory will be what a Westerner would call "ring-tailed screamers."

It appears, also, that we may fairly expect the Southerners of the future to be cruel. The ground for this expectation is the atrocious manner in which the Carthaginian inhabitants of the same zone behaved in the great conflict with their slaves known as the "Inexorable War;" and secondly, the conduct of Marshal Pelissier in smoking the Arabs to death in the cave, twenty years ago. This last effect of the isothermal line on the human character is the most remarkable we have yet met with.

The negro, according to Dr. Draper, ought not to be found naturally on this continent, though he is found in other portions of the Southern isothermal zone; that is, Dr. Draper knows the conditions necessary to produce a negro; he knows that none of these conditions are present in the Southern States. Why, then, is the negro in other parts of the zone? The answer which Dr. Draper gives is, according to him, "singular and satisfactory."

"The recession of the Mediterranean Sea from the desert of Sahara, and its contraction within its present boundaries, had doubtless much to do with the possibility of negro life . . . [in Africa.] Had the Mediterranean retained its old boundaries, the negro type of man would never have been called into existence. . . . In my work on physiology I have shown how darkness of complexion is connected with the action of the liver, and that the secretion of black pigment into the cells of the skin takes place under the influence of a high temperature and moisture. The conditions for the production of the negro did not exist in America. There was no topographical expansion sufficient at Panama. The construction of Central America is the converse of that of Central Africa; the Caribbean and Mexican Seas replace the sands of Sahara and the pestilential everglades of Soudan. In Africa the winter isothermal line of 55° marks out the true boundary of negro life. In America that line skirts the southern edge of the Gulf States. *It is plain, then, that, were it not for the artificial climate created by civilization, the negro would be an exotic in all the domain of the republic except in the southern verge of Texas and Louisiana and in the peninsula of Florida.*"

By a similar process of reasoning, we are led to the conclusion (p. 103) that "the arts of Eastern life, the picturesque Orientalism of Arabia, will be reproduced in our interior sandy desert, the love-songs of Persia in the dells and glades of Sonora, and the religious aspirations of Palestine in the similar scenery of New Mexico."

At page 101, Dr. Draper shows that the continuousness and variety of labor permitted by the Southern climate make the Southern man confident, and therefore too "indolent," wanting in foresight, prone to act without reflection, irregular in his habits, and impulsive; while the uncertainty of the Northern climate makes the Northern man thoughtful, cautious, and provident. But at page 125, however, he maintains that the "certainty of the climate in Peru and ancient Egypt gave a man a remission from the cares of the future, and an opportunity of turning from the low gratification of animal instincts to the improvement of his mind."

We might fill our whole paper with illustrations of the same sort of Dr. Draper's singular understanding of the limits between reason and imagination; but we must content ourselves with one more. "What is the reason," he asks, "that on the earth's southern hemisphere no great man has yet appeared?" The reader, we are sure, will never guess. The answer is that "the January isothermal line of 41° is, in the southern hemisphere, altogether a sea line. It touches the land at no point" (p. 124). This line at the north, according to Dr. Draper, "is the axis of a zone, a few degrees wide, upon which, in Europe and Asia, all great men have appeared." But as this zone at the south runs over sea water, and great men can appear in no other, and as men are land animals, of course the southern hemisphere has produced no great men—*q. e. d.* We refer readers who suspect us of joking or travesty to the work itself.

Of the narrative portion of Dr. Draper's work we cannot speak too highly. His sketch of the events which led to the war, and his summing up of the Northern and Southern sides of the controversy, are models of calm perspicuous, and judicial statements. He is evidently exceedingly fair-minded—a fact which renders his weakness in generalization all the more remarkable, as a man can hardly be fair-minded without considerable capacity for the collection, arrangement, and valuation of facts.

NOTES ON THE NEW EDITION OF WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY.

NO. XIX.

Church.—So far as the form is concerned, *κυριακή* (*sc.*) *οίκος*, or *κυριακόν*, from which the editors of Webster derive the word, furnishes a satisfactory etymology for the A.-S. *cyric*, though the O. G. *chirihha* and *chilihha* do not so readily connect themselves with that root. That the Greek words in question were more or less used by Greek writers in the sense of *church* (edifice), for a long period during the Middle Ages, is certain, but they do not appear to have ever been the familiar, popular designations of buildings set apart for divine worship; and besides, we are constantly met by the difficulty of explaining how a word, comparatively rare in Greek itself, and unknown to Mæso-Gothic and Latin, should have made its way into all the Germanic dialects, at least as early as the eighth century, when Greek was scarcely known, except by name, to any of the Gothic tribes but the Mæso-Goths. We might conjecture, indeed, that the Væringjar brought home the word from Mikligarðr, but that would be an unsupported and improbable supposition, especially as we have no evidence that the Northmen visited Constantinople so early as the seventh or eighth century.

Circus, as those structures may often have furnished materials and sites for churches, or *circulus*, as descriptive of an early form of them, might be

accepted; but there is no evidence that they were ever used in M. L. to designate church edifices, or anything belonging to the clergy, though both were occasionally employed in the sense of audience or congregation, and it is improbable that the Gothic tribes would have agreed in choosing as a name for church a foreign word only remotely connected with such edifices.

It will hardly be doubted that all the Gothic names for church are the same word, and as there is no proof that any one of those tribes coined or borrowed the word and bestowed it on the others, they must all have taken it from some common and obvious source. Neither *κριακόν*, *circus*, nor *circulus* fully satisfies the necessary conditions of fitness as a descriptive term, correspondence in form, and general accessibility to all the nations who resorted to the same root for the development of a naturalized name for church.

The ecclesiastical Latin *clerus* suggests a possible origin for the word in question, though in point of form, at first sight, less satisfactory than *circus* or *κριακόν*, and I by no means propose this etymology with much confidence. But what was the popular, perhaps even the literary, pronunciation of *clerus* and its derivatives in the eighth century? At the earliest period in which we find any of these words in the Italian line, that is, in the dialects whose pronunciation would go far to control that of other Christian nations whatever the orthography of the word might be, the normal change of *cl* into *ch* or *chi*—as *clarus*, *chiaro*; *clavis*, *chiave* (confer L. *clavis*, A.-S. *cage*); *clericus*, *cherico*, *chierico*—had already taken place. Wherever Christianity spread, it carried *clerus* and its derivatives with it, and if we suppose them to have been pronounced by the Romish missionaries in the seventh or eighth centuries as their progeny certainly were in the Italian popular speech two or three hundred years later, we have a root coextensive with Latin Christianity, and which might very readily assume all the forms in which church exists among the Gothic tribes. It should here be noticed, *en passant*, that in many Italian dialects *ch* has the same sound as in English, so that *chiesa* is pronounced as if written *ciesa*, or, in English orthography, *chaza*, *cherico*, *chierico*—and even the Latin *clericum*, if, as is probable, its initials had habitually the same sound as in Ital. *cherico*—would, therefore, where this pronunciation prevailed, have a considerable resemblance to church. In fact, *cherico* was sometimes written *cerco*, and doubtless pronounced accordingly—that is, giving the initial *c* the sound of English *ch*. (See Tommaseo, *Diz. It.*) Again, in some other dialects, *ch* is a guttural, and therefore approaches the O. G. *ch* in *chirihha*.

In the case of Ital. *chiaro*, *chiave*, and most other words where the initials *chi* correspond to the Latin *cl*, we are not able to affirm with certainty that the Italian words are derived from the Latin, because they may belong to a sister dialect or dialects as old as Latin itself, and which gave to these words the same articulation which belongs to them to-day. But *clerus*, *clericus*, and the like came into Latin with Christianity, and therefore *cherico*, *chierico* are certainly derived from that root through ecclesiastical Latin. The presumption is that, in passing from Latin into the popular speech, they carried the habitual Latin pronunciation with them, and therefore it is by no means improbable that the Roman ecclesiastics pronounced these Greek words much as their modern derivatives are now pronounced in most Italian dialects.

I am not prepared to show that *clericum*, or the like, was employed in M. L. in the precise sense of church; but a church is the place where the clergy perform their professional functions, and where they are at all hours to be found, as in their appropriate official residence; and it is not improbable that the church should have taken its designation from that of its occupants, as *monastery*, *monkery*, *nunnery* took theirs from the title of the monks and nuns who inhabited them.

In which of the Germanic dialects the word first appeared we are unable to say, but it occurs as an element in the name of a German village as early as A.D. 718, and it was currently used both in Anglo-Saxon and in several continental Germanic countries in the same century. The strongest, if not the only, direct evidence in favor of the Greek origin of the word is the testimony of Walafrid Strabo, a writer of the ninth century, who says that it was derived from the Greek *κριακή*, or, as he writes it, *kyriaca*. The etymological opinions of Walafrid Strabo are by no means authoritative, but he may have had access to historical proof which we do not possess, and it must be admitted that his evidence is entitled to the weight, such as it is, which belongs to a not wholly improbable tradition.

The question, as connected with the history of the diffusion of Christianity among the Gothic races, is an important one, and will doubtless receive further elucidation. The reader will find an interesting though not exhaustive discussion of the subject in Grimm's [Hildebrand] Wörterbuch, under *Kirche*.

The etymology which I now suggest is, I believe, altogether new, and

no doubt further research in mediæval Italian philology will bring out evidence either for or against it. At present, like the various other proposed derivations, it wants historical support; but to an ear familiar with Italian articulation, normal and provincial, it is recommended by at least a strong phonetic probability.

The Decisive Conflicts of the late Civil War, or Slaveholders' Rebellion. By J. Watts de Peyster, Brev. Major-Gen. N. Y. S. N. G., by Special Act or Concurrent Resolution N. Y. S. Legislature.—The author has vindicated his claim to his blushing honors by the publication of this pamphlet. That is to say, he has and he has n't. His two immensely long title-pages, garnished with many quotations in Latin and English, tell us he has, but they do not correspond with each other, and the contents of the pamphlet do not correspond with either. There are several chapters. The first is about pretty nearly everything. The second is said to contain, but does n't, an "Analytical Parallel and Criticism on the Principal Union and Rebel Generals," etc., etc., etc. The next two treat of Shiloh, and the last two of the Maryland battles of September, 1862. In matter and manner the pamphlet is equally valueless. It contains no new facts, no skilful use of facts that were known before, and no good reasoning or criticism. It is apparently the work of a man who has read a good deal without method, and without the power of digesting his information. The author's fitness for the discussion of military subjects, and his qualifications as a writer, may be judged from the following passages. On page 8, after speaking of Beauregard's failure to carry out the plans of Sydney Johnston at Shiloh, he says: "If susceptible of regret, to him is more applicable than to any other man in the rebel service the two finest lines of Whittier's exquisitely thoughtful 'Maud Muller':

'For of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these—It might have been.'

The next quotation deserves especial praise for the bold and fine figure it contains, by the use of which Beauregard is represented as watering his horse in blasted hopes: "It was stated at the time that the capturer of Sumter had said in his address to the rebel army before the battle, 'I will water my horse in the Tennessee river or in hell before night.' The first he did not, the second he did, for what greater 'Inferno' to an ambitious military chief than blasted hopes and credit in his profession?"

Recent Republications.—We are afraid to draw an inference, except that the publishers have made money by it, from the fact that "Guy Livingstone," which now appears in the "Railway Library" of Messrs. George Routledge & Sons, has reached a sixth edition. But the worst influence that can be drawn from the gaudy cover of this volume—a ring-fight between "town" and "gown," or, as the author prefers, between "Proletarian" and "Patrician"—is not too bad for the real character of the hero. For those who may not have read the story, it may not be amiss to say that it is an attempt to extort admiration for a "thorough" blackleg, who is represented as irresistibly attractive even to the virtuous, though his face does not generally conceal his evil nature; feared and disliked, however, by the poor, destitute of all moral graces, and abounding only in brawn and animal magnetism, and who breaks his mother's heart and that of his betrothed, and, finally, his own spine, and is deplored by how many readers of both sexes who think they have assisted at the obsequies of something manly and chivalrous? So thought many a Southern young man and young maiden who worshipped, in this boxing, gambling, hunting, hard-drinking Don Juan, who "flinches no more before a great moral law than at a big fence," the spirit of aristocracy and the blood of the Normans. So thought the young people of many a respectable Northern neighborhood, and so may yet think the travelling clerks and others whose life is bound to the rail, as they peruse this sixth edition. But this is not only a bad book, but in a rhetorical point of view a weak and ridiculous book, full of rant and fustian and inflation, and in no respect redeeming by its style or its delineations the lowliness of its aim.

Messrs. Ticknor & Fields send us "The Pickwick Papers" and "David Copperfield," of their "Library Edition" of Dickens—volumes bound in green, a little longer than the "Autograph" or "Charles Dickens Edition," and using larger and clearer type, of course with less economy of space, sometimes two volumes being required for one of the latter edition. In illustrations there is very little difference.

About two years ago (see THE NATION for Aug. 10, 1865) we reviewed Mr. Wm. Everett's book "On the Cam," which we are glad has been so favorably received as to warrant a second edition. This, we are informed in the introduction, differs from the first in the correction of a few errors in the text and of others in the appendix, and in a brief reply to one or two of the author's critics. Messrs. Sever & Francis never publish an ill-looking book, and they have made a handsome volume of these familiar lectures about Cambridge University, its ways, its studies, its great men, and its relations to Oxford and to England.

Some one has taken the trouble to collect and translate, and the Messrs. Appleton publish for him, "The Wit and Wisdom of Don Quixote," which, though here spread over in long and short, some 160 pages, has furnished us only four "familiar quotations," taking Mr. Bartlett as our authority. No one will object to doubling or quadrupling these, but most readers of this book will probably agree that the whole of the original is better than its parts—even its best parts. Gems of sentiment are generally dull reading, and act upon each other much like shades of the same color inaptly brought together.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

THE MAJORITY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

A CORRESPONDENT whose letter we print elsewhere expresses in a few words what is the difficulty of thousands of honest minds with regard to this dispute between Mr. Johnson and Congress—of men, too, who do not approve of Mr. Johnson's course, but who, nevertheless, cannot persuade themselves that he and the Supreme Court have not each as good a right to interpret the Constitution—that is, define the limits of their own powers—as Congress has. It is, however, quite plain to the commonest intelligence that whatever a written constitution can do, there is one thing it cannot do, and that is, prevent these co-ordinate branches of a government from coming into collision when each attempts to define its own powers. That these collisions have not occurred oftener, or rather have not proved of much moment hitherto, either here or in England, is due simply to the fact that in ordinary times the subjects on which co-ordinate departments differ and the ends they have in view are not of sufficient importance to tempt any one department into going to extremes. One is almost sure to give up before negotiation is exhausted. Therefore the arrangements made by a written constitution for preserving the balance of power may ordinarily work well. In this country they have worked well. Until the Dred Scott decision, although the powers claimed for the Supreme Court under the Constitution had excited jealousy and grumbling, there was no deliberate and avowed intention not to be bound by its decisions. But the Dred Scott decision touched a point which the majority felt to be vital, and at once the authority of the court as an interpreter was repudiated by the majority. So, also, the issues raised in this reconstruction process are felt by the majority to be vital, that is, to go to the very foundations of the national existence, and therefore the slightest attempt of the court to control the action of Congress would certainly be repudiated, and the court knows it and wisely abstains from meddling.

If the Supreme Court had the power of interpreting the Constitution under all circumstances and in all cases, the judges would govern the country as a small oligarchy, and reform would be hopeless inside half a century. You may assert that they have this power as much as you please, and the majority in quiet times may act as if they had it; but the minute troublous times come, and the majority is satisfied that if it obey the judges the ends for which the judges exist will be defeated, it will not obey them. To argue that this ought not to be so, is idle; you might as well argue that human nature ought to be changed. Perhaps it ought, but governments are made for men as they are and not as they ought to be, and the wit of man is not equal to the task of devising a written constitution which shall be obeyed under all circumstances. Nothing would secure this result but some occult power that would cause anybody who violated it instantly to drop down dead. In two-thirds of what is written on the sanctity of the "fundamental law," including the long disquisitions of Mr. G. T. Curtis in *The World*, there is a false bottom to the thinking. The reasoning is based on the assumption that the Constitution is the ultimate fact of our system of government. This is a delusion. The ultimate fact of this, as of all governments, is human nature; and until human nature is totally changed, the majority of a great and free country will not allow one man calling himself an executive, or nine men calling themselves a court, to interpret the fundamental law when, in the opinion of the majority, their interpretation would be dangerous to the public safety.

But this, says "Freedom," means a government of "mere majority, and leaves my breath dependent on their will." He is right. This is exactly what it means. We do live under a government of the major-

ity. The Constitution is an instrument by which the majority binds itself to refrain from certain acts, but it never gives up its right, in the last resort, of explaining the sense in which it took the pledge, or, in other words, of taking the President or anybody else whom it finds running about and doing mischief, while professing to take "the Constitution for his guide," and putting him under lock and key, if it believes his hermeneutics dangerous to the state. The idea that there is something very horrible in being dependent on the majority of a Christian state for liberty and security, which "Freedom" seems to entertain, is the product of that species of fetish worship of which the Constitution has long been the object. The Constitution, unless it is a talisman, cannot have any more force than the majority gives it. If the majority desires to rob and cut throats, there is no virtue in the parchment to stop it. If it allows Andrew Johnson and the Supreme Court to define their own powers, it is simply because it does not consider it worth while to interfere with them.

This fact has always been so well understood by the highest class of minds that in constitutional countries the skill of great statesmen has nearly always been shown in avoiding reliance on the constitution, in persuading the majority into doing or not doing certain things without falling back on naked legal rights. As soon as a king, president, or minister says, in exciting times, that he will fall back on the constitution or charter, and act on his own construction of it, he shows himself as much a fool, and is as sure to be destroyed, as a single man who should point his rifle at a regiment. The end and use of statesmanship is to avoid bringing things to this pass. The minute the statesman appeals to force as against the majority, the majority measures its own strength against him and sweeps him aside.

This is just what Andrew Johnson seems disposed to do. He says his interpretation of the Constitution is the right one; Congress says its interpretation is the right one. Admitting one to be as likely to be right as the other, who is to decide between them? The Supreme Court is simply, when the destiny of a nation is at stake, nine elderly men. Suppose they throw themselves on Mr. Johnson's side, the result would be that ten elderly men would be of his way of thinking instead of one, because Congress does not regard the Court as any more competent intellectually to decide such questions as are raised in the reconstruction problem than Congress is itself. If the Court were more competent than Congress to decide such questions, it ought to govern the country completely, and the election and meeting of the legislature is a useless expense, so that in the last resort the dispute can only be ended by the majority using its superiority of force to decide—and this it is sure to do. This may be an unfortunate state of things, but nobody is to blame for it—neither the framers of the Constitution nor those who live under it. In every free state the maintenance of liberty and justice—no matter what the written forms may be—depends in the last resort on the character of the majority of the people. "Freedom" would be sure of his liberty in Philadelphia if the Constitution were abolished to-morrow; he would not be sure of his head or his purse if he lived in Mexico, though every man in the country wore the constitution in a locket round his neck as an amulet.

GENERAL BUTLER'S ETHICS.

GENERAL BUTLER has won a good deal of reputation as a lawyer and administrator, but nobody gave him credit for much ability as an ethical philosopher. To this title, however, he has fully vindicated his claim in a remarkable conversation reported in the *Boston Advertiser* of Sept. 4. He there laid it down that, as the United States five-twenty bonds are not on their face payable in gold, but only in "dollars," the Government ought only to pay them in paper currency, as it pays its other creditors. This, says the general, "is the exact letter of the bond." That is, as the bonds are a promise simply to pay so many "dollars," and do not mention what kind of dollars, and as the Government can call anything it pleases "dollars," by means of an act of Congress, it may fairly pay its bond creditors either in paper or old iron or cast-off army-blankets or damaged biscuit, or any other commodity that it may want to get rid of. To be sure, General Butler

recommends paper with promises to pay printed on it; but then, as this paper would, under such circumstances, be worth absolutely nothing, we take the liberty of amending this proposition and suggesting that they get condemned stores, of which there must be large quantities still on hand. "One Hundred Dollars," for instance, might be painted in big letters on old uniform coats, and when a bond of this nominal value was sent in for redemption, the blanket could be handed over the counter to the holder. Of course he would grumble, but we could tell him that we never said we would pay him in gold. "But I understood," he would reply, "that you would pay me in the current money of the world; if I had thought that by 'dollars' you meant anything you chose to call a dollar, I never would have lent you the money." Then we should laugh at him and "chaff" him pleasantly for his simplicity.

But not only, according to General Butler, are we not bound to pay the bonds in gold, by the letter of the law, but are not bound in morals to pay them in gold. This may seem a hard saying to simple minds; but nothing can be plainer. The foreign holders of the bonds bought them as a pure money-making transaction, and not with the view "of aiding us in our great struggle;" so, also, the native holders bought them at a tremendous discount, and with a view to profit, or, as General Butler terms it, "an eye to the proceeds." Now, to make a debt or other contract binding on the conscience, it must be based on affection. In old times it had to be based on a "valuable consideration;" but those hard, wicked old times have passed away, and nobody is now bound to pay what he owes unless his creditors can show that they trust him out of love, and from a desire to see him get on in the world. As very few creditors can prove anything of the kind, the legal recognition of General Butler's theory would release vast numbers of worthy men from very disagreeable burdens.

What is most encouraging and delightful about this whole conversation is the illustration it affords of the amount of wisdom and high morality the nation has to draw on whenever it finds itself in difficulties in the summer season, when its great men have retired to muse and hoe potatoes on their paternal acres. If the Democrats get up a repudiation cry in the West—and there begins to be some fear that the pill, as they present it, may prove attractive to the masses out there—all the Republicans have to do is to send down a reporter to General Butler, or the like of him, and in five minutes a bolus is produced, made not simply, like poor Pendleton's, of common low interest or convenience, but of principles of pure justice, and the Democrats have forthwith to hide their diminished heads. His scheme is really, as compared to General Butler's, not fit to be seen. He recommends repudiation, in a brutal, coarse way, as a pleasant thing to do; while the Eastern statesman shows that it would not only be pleasant but right. In fact, Mr. Pendleton proposes garrotting; while General Butler recommends the scientific and innocent "drop game" as a means of getting over our financial difficulties. As the "drop game" may not be familiar to all our readers, we may explain that it is a mode of raising money occasionally resorted to by gentlemen in New York who find their credit low in the regular market. They put a counter fifty-dollar bill in a pocket-book first, and drop it in front of some innocent-looking countryman whom they see coming, and just as he approaches them pretend to discover it and pick it up in his presence. They open it; find a fifty-dollar bill in it, are too honest to keep it, have no time to advertise it, as the cars are just going; and propose to the countryman that he should keep it, advertise it, and restore it to the owner, advancing the finder ten dollars, or thereabouts, in the meantime, out of the anticipated reward. This he does, and the finder goes off content. Now, in this case no cheat is practised on the countryman; nobody forces him to take a strange pocket-book with fifty dollars in it. He advances the ten dollars "with an eye to the proceeds;" the finder does not tell him the fifty-dollar bill is a good one; he runs his own risk and meets with his reward; nobody is to blame but himself. Under the New York law the perpetrator of the "game" is, we regret to say, punishable; but in these days of progress let us trust he will not long remain so. Two or three more "jumps forward," and the poor fellows will find their devices acknowledged by society as a fair mode of levying the tribute which simplicity owes to smartness.

HINTS FOR CONSTITUTION-MAKERS.

BY A JUDGE.

V.—THE LEGISLATURE.

OF all the fallacies for the State of New York which have been suggested to the Constitutional Convention, the worst, I think, is that which is known as "the representation of minorities." I say "for the State of New York," because there may be communities where the will of the people is expressed without the aid of the political machinery which accompanies it in this State, and where the constitutional or popular election is not preceded by what is now legally as well as familiarly known as "the primary." "The representation of minorities" in such a political community as ours would mean nothing more or less than the representation of politicians, and the only practical result that would come from it would be that the primary would absolutely govern the popular election.

There is a body of men in this country termed politicians. Party management (vulgarly called "politics") is their trade and business. A hundred of these ordinarily are equal to several thousand intelligent voters; for they devote to the work of the election every working hour of the three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, while the intelligent voter gives to the election but a single hour of a single day. These men are not favorites; all the ills of the country and nearly all the evils of the age are attributed to them. They do not sway the destinies of the nation, but do sadly meddle with them; they do not control the action of the people, but do continually interfere with it. They constitute a small, unscrupulous, unpopular oligarchy, and there is nothing more dear to the popular heart than the cry that in this or that movement of the people "the politicians have been defeated."

It has been wildly supposed that by preventing the preponderance of one party over the other, and placing both equally in power, the evils of "politics" would be overcome. This principle, stretched to its utmost limit, was applied to the city of New York. Each party elected six supervisors, and the Republican minority was as strong in the board as the Democratic majority. The fanciful idea was indulged that a board made up entirely of politicians would be non-political. But these worthies were not long in learning the fact that when they had managed a little convention of a hundred and ten members they had controlled the one hundred thousand voters of the metropolis, and were as surely supervisors of the city and county of New York as that the election would come. And thus it is yearly seen that a great city cannot shake off this dozen of men, nor strike down any one of them, no matter how obnoxious he may have become. It is quite true that the people *might* nominate other persons, and *might* vote for them, and *might* elect them; but it is not the business of our Convention to frame a constitution for what might be, but for what has been and most inevitably will be again.

The next form of this is simply a modification of the original idea, and consists in electing two of the majority and one of the minority. It is an improvement, inasmuch as it gives the citizen a fraction of a choice and the privilege of saying which party shall have two and which but one; yet it is, nevertheless, only a variation of the pernicious principle that the "nominated" shall not be defeated.

A third form is the English project of allowing a voter to vote by one ticket for three men, or three times for one man, as he may see fit. But the only practical advantage from this would be that, on the day of our elections, tickets would unblushingly appear bearing the name of Michael O'Rourke three times repeated, and similar tickets bearing the name of Patrick McLaughlin three times repeated; while the friends of those most respectable gentlemen, Messrs. A., B., and C., would vote with such entire impartiality that (notwithstanding they were a clear majority of the district) Messrs. B. and C. would be defeated, and Messrs. O'Rourke and McLaughlin triumphantly elected. In other words, it is an ingenious scheme to enable a skilful minority to elect two candidates to a clear majority's one; and the only men who would profit by the scheme are the very men we are struggling to be rid of.

There is but one way in this State by which the people can secure themselves against bad candidates, and it is by voting them down. There is but one check upon the powers of party managers, and it is the power of voting them down; and the only provision which the constitution needs on this subject is a declaration which shall secure to the people the right of voting them down. All of these weak inventions are mere devices for "elections made easy." It is not "elections made easy" that we need, but elections made secure, whereby the bad may be stricken down and the real choice be taken from the managers of parties and kept sacredly vested in the people.

The principle that the choice of elective officers must be carefully preserved to the people, to be ascertained as exclusively as possible by the constitutional process of popular election, depends not only on the manner of choosing but on the districts which make the choice. Now, it is a fact, unobserved in this connection, that the smaller the district, the greater the certainty in the political result; that is to say, in most of the small assembly districts in this State the moment the convention of the dominant party has named the candidate, he may be considered as inevitably the next member. These petty conventions are

practically the appointing power, and the choice is not "the choice of the people," but the choice of the men who manage them. To understand this more thoroughly, it is only necessary to reflect that the change of a great district is not caused by the revolution of each elective precinct within it, but by a few votes in each changing from the one party to the other. Thus the State, which is the maximum district, has changed the oftenest. Under the present constitution it has changed, 1st, from Silas Wright to John Young; 2d, from Washington Hunt to Horatio Seymour; 3d, from Horatio Seymour to Orville H. Clark; 4th, from Edwin D. Morgan to Horatio Seymour; and 5th, from Horatio Seymour to the present incumbent. Therefore, in ten (biennial) elections this maximum district has changed five times, and the ratio of change is fifty per cent. Now, of the one hundred and twenty-eight assembly districts there is one which, through the same period, has changed in its (annual) elections ten times? The people of the State, therefore, possess a freedom of choice which is denied to every lesser district of which the State is composed, and the smaller the district, the more stringent is the denial of this right, and the more trammelled the free choice of popular election.

Under the former constitution of New York the thirty-two senators came from but eight districts, and the members of the lower house were chosen by counties. Yielding everything of theory to the theorists who brought in the present system, I must insist that it is not open to dispute that the fact of small districts was followed by the fact of small men. There was a time when the "politicians" in the large counties were compelled "to give weight to the ticket" by placing thereon an eminent lawyer, a prominent merchant, a great manufacturer, and these men thought it an honor to thus head their ticket, and when they went up to the Legislature they represented and acted for the law, the commerce, and the manufacturing interests of the State. There was a time when the citizens of Albany threw open their doors to the members of the Legislature and felt honored by their presence, and in turn added to the attraction and dignity of the office. That time certainly has passed away, and certainly it passed with the coming of the present constitution. Since then, few men of standing care to represent the paltry districts in which they may chance to dwell. They go to Albany, and receive neither attention nor hospitality. They return home and find that the nomination must go next time to another man, that anybody can be elected and that somebody else must have his turn, that it will not do to give the office all the time to one man. The year after, he finds that the office has been parcelled out to a third man who never held it before. The respectable citizens of the district say that Mr. A. represented the district most creditably, and was a most useful legislator for the State, and they wonder why he was not re-nominated; that he ought to have been. And thus, year after year, we find that of the one hundred and twenty-eight members over one hundred are new men, inexperienced, ignorant, worthless, easily led, easily bought, who have come up to the surface once and will never come again. Is there another intelligent community in the world that make their own laws with such folly?

I say "easily bought." Such is the fact. As to the reason, there may be a difference of opinion; but the fact no one disputes. Of the two houses the Senate ought to be most easily bought, for it is the smaller, and thirty-two members ought to be more cheaply purchased than one hundred and twenty-eight. Corruption ought to be more general there, because, if a certain sum is to be invested in carrying a bill, the few will have larger shares than the many. Comparatively, a senator might command four times the price of a member of Assembly. We know (so far as such a fact can be known) that this is not so. We know that the small Senate is the less corrupt and the more trustworthy. What are the differences in the organism of the two houses? If we can ascertain these differences, is it not fair to presume that they affect the results? Reasoning like reasonable beings, may we not conclude, as in any other undertaking, that like causes will produce like effects, and that it is perfectly possible to make the Assembly as respectable as the Senate?

The first difference is that the senators represent districts four times as large as those of the members. They do not, as a rule, come to the surface for a single winter and then disappear. Their districts require of them reputation, and are too large to allow of the office being awarded to A. for the first year, to B. for the second, to C. for the third, etc., etc. A senator does not come there to mingle in a mob of men as ignorant and irresponsible as himself—to seize the only gain that can be gathered, conscious that he will never have the opportunity again. In one word, the larger districts produce the larger men.

The second difference is that the Senate is elected biennially. We Americans are a busy people, generally acknowledging that we have not time for anything. As one of them, I confess that I would rather have our elections held biennially. I could then give more time to them and take more interest in them, and do my work of citizenship better. When I ask my neighbors, they agree with me in the wish, and say that the elections "do come most too often now, and interfere too much with a man's business." Why cannot we have this as we wish it? Because there is a certain "political machinery" that would become rusty and useless if it were not oiled and used every year. Because there is a certain class of men whose trade is "politics," and they

would be bereft of occupation if the election did not come once a year. Between the Convention and the Legislature the city of New York has a fair chance of having three elections *per annum*. They will divide the interest of respectable voters and lessen their attendance; but they will increase the trade in "politics." The men who live by that trade would prefer to have an election once a month. It is said that rare elections are animated, excited, bitter. I concede that they are. But those who thus object forget that they are so because the people are alive. Such elections are good for intelligence and integrity and patriotism. The elections which are fraught with danger are those which are "neither hot nor cold," when the people neither work, nor discuss, nor think, nor care.

The former Senate of this State not only had the twofold advantage of members chosen from large districts (one-eighth of the State) and for long terms (four years), but it also held an admirable principle of stability such as few elective bodies ever possessed. Though four senators represented a district, but one was elected in a single year. Hence the attention of the voter was centralized on his single candidate, and, no matter what might be the fluctuation of public opinion, but one-fourth of the Senate could be changed at one election. This was substantially the system of the United States Senate, and, like it, secured capable and experienced legislators. In a previous article I have pointed out the fact that the former Senate worthily rose to the dignity of a high judicial tribunal. Such it was when the Convention of 1846 swept it away. Cannot the Convention of 1867 restore to us such a senate as the other destroyed? The people of this State are more earnest, more independent, and much more intelligent now than they were then. Why must their representatives be worse?

After an active participation in the political work of the last fifteen years, after a careful review of the facts which our State constitutions have established, it is my deliberate conclusion that the Constitution of the United States contains the best framework of government ever constructed by the hand of man; and I think those State constitutions have proved to be the best which most closely resemble the Constitution of the United States. Two prominent characteristics of that instrument are, biennial instead of annual elections, and a stable Senate. The past and present experience of the State of New York only confirms the wisdom of the Constitution of the United States. There is no reason why we should depart from it or idly follow the windings of visionary men. The theories of government are endless and the projects of the visionary are plausible, but the facts of the past dictate to every State convention as the one approved and true pattern the Constitution of the United States.

"SWEETNESS AND LIGHT."

We print elsewhere "A Plea for the Uncultivated," from the pen of an avowed "Philistine," who has probably done as much credit to his group of the two into which Matthew Arnold has divided the human family as any other member of it. He makes one good point against Mr. Arnold in asking how, as long as the world is constituted as at present, most people can avoid being "Philistines." If the great mass of mankind, having to work hard in occupations which do not provide much culture for the mind and yet absorb all the attention, learned "to see things as they are" with as much facility as an Oxford professor, they would be more than human. Moreover, though our "Philistine" does not make this suggestion, Mr. Arnold has displayed in his latest, as indeed in all his sociological papers, considerable difficulty in "seeing things as they are" himself. He is bright, sharp, satirical, and wields a matchless style; but then the style very often covers considerable confusion in thought; and confusion in thought, in anybody who undertakes to call the attention of mankind to their shortcomings, is an unpardonable sin. It comes, we think, in him, as in Thomas Carlyle, from the fact that he has taken the position of fault-finder, but has absolutely declined all responsibility as to remedies, and has thus got rid of the great and only check which prevents the brain of the social reformer from going wool-gathering—to use a popular but very suggestive simile. When a man makes it the business of his life to point out defects in the social system by which he is surrounded, if he acknowledges at the same time his obligation to find a cure for each defect he discovers, and if society makes his finding the cure the condition of being listened to, he is forced into accuracy of thought, no matter what his natural tendency may be. He is compelled to combine the caution of the man in office with the aggressive vigor of the man out of office. The consciousness that he must follow up his exposure of a fault with a plan for remedying it, causes him to consider, in the first place, whether it is a fault or only a misfortune whether anybody, and if so, who, is to blame for it, and how the blame should be distributed; whether the root of it lies in the character or in the circumstances; what amount of effort, the character and circumstances being such as they are, it will take to get rid of it; and so on. No reformer can go through this mental process without weighing his words when he

comes to speak, without infusing into his denunciations some of the judge's justice as well as of the prophet's zeal. Coleridge tells of his having been once much annoyed by an old Jew passing his window and calling "O' clo', o' clo'!" He stopped him, and asked him sharply why he could not say "old clothes," as he did. "Sir," said the Jew, "if you had to cry 'old clothes' as many times a day as I have, you would cry 'o' clo' yourself." The critic confessed he never felt more thoroughly rebuked in his life, and the reason was that he had not given himself the trouble to think, before finding fault with the Jew's pronunciation, what under the circumstances could be done to improve it.

Now, Matthew Arnold and Thomas Carlyle have both taken up the position of critics of society, pure and simple, and for persons of a certain temperament no task can be easier or more delightful. Society in every country is full of defects, defects both of form and substance, and to sit down and write scathing exposures of them and abuse everybody engaged in the work of the world, to call the coal-heavers beasts because they have coal-dust on their faces, the huckster a fool because he knows nothing of Plato, and the idle, donkeys because they object to being whipped into industry, is one of the most attractive occupations in which a man with a ready pen can engage. But if everybody who engaged in it was obliged to tell the coal-heaver how to keep the coal-dust off his face, and the huckster how to attend to his business and yet study Plato, and convince the idle by argument of the moral value of whipping, comparatively very few would engage in it. Thomas Carlyle's occupation would certainly be gone, and Matthew Arnold would, at least, have to change his method.

Take as an illustration of the looseness of much of Mr. Arnold's talk his comments in his last paper on the motto of the English *Nonconformist*, "*The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion*." He takes it for granted that this furnishes the key to the English dissenter's philosophy, and that the aim of the dissenter's existence is to maintain the dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion, and concludes, naturally enough from such a postulate, that there is not much "sweetness and light," or much immediate prospect of it, in the dissenter's life. But the fact is that the dissenter no more thinks of Dissent and Protestantism as *ends* than Mr. Arnold does himself. They are his means of doing what Mr. Arnold declares to be the end of culture, "making reason and the will of God prevail." The editor of *The Nonconformist* may desire "sweetness and light" just as much as Mr. Arnold, but he conceives the existence of an established Church in England and the propagandism of the Catholic Church to be great obstacles to the prevalence of "sweetness and light;" therefore he cherishes dissent as the instrument for the removal of the state Church, Protestantism as the bulwark against that particular form of spiritual tyranny called Catholicism, and reasonably enough he glorifies the essence of each of them as a valuable social agent.

Our "Philistine" has, however, not been content with defending his class; he has undertaken to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and here he has, we take leave to say, come to grief. Nobody by whose sayings men of culture would be willing to be bound has ever maintained that proficiency of Latin and Greek necessarily entitled a man to a place in the front rank in the world of culture. A great many people do consider the study of the classical languages a good means of securing flexibility and the habit of concentration in the mind, and these are certainly very important qualifications for anybody commencing any pursuit in life. Many more consider an acquaintance with ancient civilization through the classical literature to be a most invaluable preparation for the work of solving the political and social problems of this civilization of ours—an opinion in which we heartily concur. One of the greatest hindrances to human progress is the *narrowness* of men, and narrowness is generally the result of drawing one's experience of life from a limited portion of the earth's surface or a limited period of time. So that, while acquiring Greek and Latin may only give a man command over his own attention, acquaintance with classical history and literature gives him familiarity with a different civilization and a different order of ideas from those in which he has grown up, and the place of which no study of modern life, in no matter how many other countries, can thoroughly supply. Therefore, we do say that the "scholar," in the wide sense of the term, and not in the narrow sense in which "A Philistine" uses it, is better equipped, *other things being equal*, for dealing with even such problems as "What is a dollar?" than the "Philistine" is. But we say "other things being equal," because no amount of acquaintance with antiquity, and no amount of Greek and Latin, will make a feeble mind anything but feeble, or a thick skull anything but thick. That there is an occult virtue in "going to college" is a mediæval delusion.

We must not get angry with classical education because it does not do more than this to fit a man to deal with the social and economical prob-

lems of his day. Mathematical education does not even do as much. Of the two, the world owes rather less material or spiritual benefit to the latter than to the former. A young man may become a very thorough mathematician and yet be as much dumbfounded by the Philistine's "dollar" as the classical scholar. Mathematical learning, although in its higher branches it requires, of course, prodigious intellectual exertion, consists mainly in an exercise of ingenuity—in so combining certain inductions as to make cases which confessedly fall within one, fall also within others. But in dealing with social and economical problems a large part of our difficulty lies in the selection of the facts on which we are to reason; and for the formation of the kind of judgment which is required in this process, general culture—that is, a wide range of knowledge, a familiarity with a variety of forms of society, as well as a highly disciplined mind—are necessary. It is not enough to be conversant with the machinery of "business," nor is it even necessary. In other words, the aim of "culture" is not so much to instruct a man in political economy, though political economy ought to form a part of every system of education, as to furnish him with a mind which, when applied to the economical problems, will handle them with ease and dexterity. Although a college or mere literary education, as it exists at present, may not be the best that can be devised by any means, we think we can show, even to the "Philistine's" satisfaction, that, such as it is, it has done more to fit men for sociological investigation than any other.

We presume he intends the question "What is a dollar?" to cover a knowledge of the laws which regulate the economical relations of men in civilized society. Now, "Philistines," as he himself defines the term, have had, from the earliest ages, far more to do with the *working* of economical laws than the "scholars." The "dollar" has been always in their hands, and on their proper understanding of these laws and of the functions of the dollar have always depended a large proportion of their success in life. Consequently, one would expect that they would have built up a science of social economy—that is, formulated the laws which regulate wages, labor, capital, currency, and exchange, and have furnished the world with a clear account of them. They have, however, done nothing of the kind. There is such a science, of comparatively recent origin, certainly, and still in a very imperfect state, but the "practical men" may be said to have contributed nothing to it whatever. If we run down the list of writers on economical science, from the earliest times to our own day, we find that they are almost without exception "scholars"—that is, men of literary training and not "practical" business men. Lord Bacon, Sir Joshua Child, Melon, Forbonnais, Genovesi, Dr. Davenant, Sir William Petty, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Sir James Stewart, Herbert, De Quesnay, Mirabeau, Turgot, Adam Smith, J. S. Mill, Malthus, and Senior were all "scholars." Mr. Ricardo, in England, was a banker, and made one important contribution to the science in his theory of rent; and Messrs. Cobden and Bright have been exceedingly able teachers of it, but did nothing to enlarge its boundaries. The ablest treatise on it in our day is from the pen of the man who at this moment is the ablest advocate of "culture," and one of the most brilliant examples of its advantages—J. S. Mill. The two ablest political financiers England has produced, the men who have most successfully dealt with the "dollar" problem, were Peel and Gladstone, both "scholars," both full of Greece and Rome. The two ablest political financiers this country has produced, Hamilton and Chase, have been lawyers and university men. In fact, in running over the history of the "dollar," it is singular to see how few traces of their existence "practical" men have left upon it.

The explanation of this phenomenon is easy enough. Political economy, like all other sciences, requires for the successful treatment of its problems not simply familiarity with the things with which it is concerned, but the mental capacity to grasp and apply, through complicated chains of reasoning and a great variety of phenomena, the law of their relations to man; and this comes through mental discipline and a wide general culture. Practical knowledge of trade is, of course, of immense value to a political economist, but unless he has the reasoning faculty and the power of concentration also highly cultivated, it will be of almost no value whatever. A curious illustration of this has been afforded in the case of Mr. Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, who, having grown rich through selling enormous quantities of Government bonds, got it into his head that, having handled so many bonds, he must be an authority on the nature and functions of public credit, and undertook to demonstrate to a wondering world "that a national debt is a national blessing;" but the result was extremely ridiculous. Business men often have the observing and reasoning faculties, of course, in a high state of development naturally; but, as a general rule, the "scholars" have, and are entitled to, as much pre-eminence in the field of economical science as in that of mere literary taste.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, Aug. 23, 1867.

PARLIAMENT is prorogued, and the quiet season has irrevocably set in. The papers are ready to devote any quantity of space to topics which a fortnight ago could not have obtained admission to their columns. They are debating at full length the plans of the French Emperor, and exhausting themselves in conjectures as to the meaning of his meeting with the Emperor of Austria; they are investigating the causes which led to the death of a few (nobody knows how many) hundreds of thousands of English subjects by the Orissa famine; they have had half a dozen letters about a dead dog which has been lately moving up and down the Thames. And for a time no more lively incidents are likely to present themselves. You will, therefore, I hope, excuse me if I make a few concluding remarks upon the great achievement of the past session—the Reform bill. Its effects will for a year or two be subjects of speculation, as Mr. Disraeli allowed the House, by way of a trifling acknowledgment of their efforts, to put off their own execution till 1869. The means by which the result has been achieved have been sufficiently discussed at earlier stages of the proceeding. Mr. Disraeli has certainly surpassed the expectations of friends and foes. As a master of parliamentary tactics he has shown unrivalled powers. He has fairly trumped his adversaries' hands. He has yielded to all the popular demands, and yet made concession sound like triumph. He has dragged his staunch Tory partisans with him to ends which they denounced a year before as revolutionary; the few faithful Abdiels who protested, though men of weight and ability, have been left helplessly stranded; the opponents, whose measures he has adopted for his own, have been forced to allow him the credit of carrying them. In short, he has, in spite of all prophecy and of all opposition, performed a feat which no one could have anticipated, by an astonishing display of parliamentary skill. Has he shown himself to be a statesman as well as an acute partisan, or has he outwitted himself, as well as others, and laid the foundation of future ruin in a temporary triumph? Time must show; meanwhile I must also admit that his adversaries have not succeeded in increasing their reputation or escaping from the false position in which he placed them. Mr. Gladstone, who began the session well, committed many of his characteristic faults, and his enemies may still say with plausibility, if not with truth, that he is too impulsive and too quick-tempered to lead a party in Parliament. Mr. Bright has shown at intervals his unequalled eloquence and fire; but his tactics have certainly failed, and he allowed himself to be tempted, at least once, into an opposition, which appeared to be factious, to his own opinions when brought forward by an adversary. Mr. Mill has gained some triumphs, especially in the partial acceptance of his pet theory of the representation of minorities—I confess my own doubts as to its being a very promising scheme—but he, too, has shown the foibles to which an imperfect sympathy with the medium in which he is placed is occasionally too favorable; his audience gain the right, which they eagerly desire, to call him crotchety (the abusive equivalent to philosophical), because he puts forward his crotchets or philosophical tenets a little too eagerly and unequivocally for their taste. But whatever good or harm the passage of the bill may have done to individual reputations, one thing is clear: the resisting power to innovations has been strangely diminished. A bill which its adversaries have denounced, and one of them especially, Mr. Lowe, with no common power, as democratic and subversive, has been carried by a Tory minister, not in obedience to any strong pressure from without—and this is the most remarkable point—for the popular excitement was never comparable to that which forced the old Reform bill and the repeal of the corn-laws upon the country, but chiefly because people had become convinced that something must be done. I consider the passing of the bill to be the indication of a very widely-spread feeling that we have lately been dropping behind the age, that our institutions want a thorough overhauling, that vested interests have become too powerful, and that the only means of starting our rusty machinery with new impetus is to call in the aid of democratic energy. Representation of minorities is a pretty theory, and might be a desirable improvement in some other countries; but what we want is the representation of majorities or anything else that will prevent our constitutional machinery from becoming fairly clogged, covered with blue-mould, and in danger of decay from long-continued immobility. The feeling that something must be done has been increased by many circumstances lately; to mention only one, by the extreme feebleness that has lately marked our foreign policy, and the curious fatality, or, perhaps I should say, the perverse instinct, which leads our governing classes to take the retrograde side of every question, even when they understand nothing whatever about it. They sympathized with the South against the North, with Austria against Prussia, and with all the powers of darkness against a

united Italy. If they could have carried the country with them they would long ago have succeeded in breaking our heads against some brick wall or other. I believe, indeed—as I hope most Englishmen believe—that this is a proof of a temporary unfitness of our institutions. They represent the feelings of a generation back. We are like a crustacean which has grown too big for its shell, and has to go through some unpleasant throes in casting it. When the process has been surmounted, I hope that we shall again rise to our old place, and show that the vitality of the country has not been seriously injured.

There is another view, of which the most forcible expression has been given by Mr. Carlyle. "Shooting Niagara, and After?" is the title of a paper in the August *Macmillan* which, I presume, all lovers of a curious literary flavor will have already studied. The perverseness and the spurts of irrelevant fury with which it is occasionally marked have induced most English papers to treat it simply with ridicule. They say, Pooh, nonsense! and there is an end of it; and I am half inclined to agree with them. Still, I doubt whether the poohpooh arguments can ever quite sum up the fitting reply to a man of genius, and I am more inclined to sympathize with *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which has translated Carlylese into English, pared off some of the eccentricities, and presented a very respectable residuum of argument which demands a serious answer. I think, indeed, that *The Gazette* has unconsciously altered the essence of his remarks in this process of distillation, and has made him the mouthpiece of ideas not his own. Carlyle, it says, is the most influential of modern English writers—a proposition from which I entirely dissent. Some fifteen or twenty years ago this was nearer the truth. University students then talked Carlylese naturally; every youth who wished to be a little ahead of his neighbors was a disciple of the mysterious Teufelsdröckh; Carlyle, in short, was the prophet of the rising generation, of the advanced guard of the radical school. That has completely ceased to be the case. The idol of the rising generation is undoubtedly Mr. Mill, than whom a more complete contrast to Carlyle can hardly be conceived. Every young gentleman who wishes to be before his age—that is, every clever young man with a soul above boating and cricket—studies Mill on logic and political economy and liberty and representative government. They are the sacred books of the new sect; Carlyle has undergone the fate to which humorists are specially liable, of falling out of fashion; his path lies too far from the beaten track. Still, he is a great humorist, and a man of great imagination, and to that I conceive that both his merits and his defects are owing. Both are displayed in the essay in *Macmillan*, which is worth studying if only for the skill with which it arrays rather commonplace remarks in an original dress. Carlyle, I have often thought, should be compared in literature to Rembrandt in art. He has the same peculiar power of seeing events in an exaggerated chiaroscuro. The high lights are concentrated on certain points and the great mass left in obscurity. This is equally conspicuous in his treatment of events and of characters. In this essay he says: "What is the use of liberty? To the good man it is a blessing that he should develop his own character; but to the bad man it is a curse; he should be forced to do right and be thankful for the force." This would be quite true if the world were as Mr. Carlyle sees it; if there were a few heaven-born heroes with superhuman insight, and the rest of the world were purblind sinners creeping at their feet, and from ignorance as much as from vice continually plunging deeper into chaos and misery. But I don't quite agree in this view. I think the heroes have a good deal of earth in their composition, and the common men a good deal of heavenly light; I fancy that, on the whole, men are guided more by aspirations upwards than by their viler propensities, and that, consequently, it would never do to put whips into the hands of the heroes and let them drive the vile herd at their own free will. And I also admit that were it not for the existence of some virtue and some common sense in the masses, liberty would be as ridiculous as Mr. Carlyle represents it. It is to this same curious tendency of his imagination that many of Mr. Carlyle's mistakes in other matters are owing. He loves the picturesque with his whole soul—the one eminent figure standing erect and well brought out from the background—and, therefore, he talks the intolerable nonsense (I can call it by no other name), that he repeats from the "Iliad in a nutshell" about the American war. He refuses to see anything in slavery except "permanent servitude;" that is, an engagement for a life instead of a year, as though the other incidents of slavery were of no importance; and further declares that this question of length of engagement was the only thing settled by the war. This points to another weakness which is a natural corollary of the first. He has a distrust, or rather an utter abhorrence, of the scientific view of history. He thinks that all questions are to be settled by "insight," i. e., by looking at things from a poetical or imaginative point of view and judging by the picturesqueness of their appearance. If they group well, if the

light and shade are properly arranged, all is right; but he never dreams of the necessity of checking his impressions by any correcting statistics or by any careful induction; he knows nothing of any theory of a gradual development of the human race, or of any weighing of the unseen social forces which are often the most important. History is to him a succession of kaleidoscopic pictures, not the gradual unrolling of a mighty scheme. Hence we find such extraordinary results as that in this essay he actually rests his hopes for England in our return to aristocracy. The English aristocrat is, he says, the politest man known, and therefore he falls down and begs him to come and save us. It wants something more than politeness or science (another cardinal virtue of theirs) to do this; it would require, amongst other things, that the world should roll back on its hinges; that old ties and sentiments that have been decaying for centuries should start into new life. To one who looks upon history as a shifting phantasmagoria of picturesque scenes, that is a possibility; to people who condescend to think and observe, it is as vain a fancy as that feudalism should revive, or that men should give up gunpowder and take to bows and arrows. If the laws of human nature should change, how nice it would be!

I see that I have diverged into what you will perhaps care little about, a criticism of Mr. Carlyle as a writer; and yet I know not why it should not be as interesting as the thrice-told story with which I started—the criticism of the Reform bill. I began with the intention of saying more at length that with which I must now conclude, that your readers will find in Mr. Carlyle's essay, after making allowance for the writer's eccentricities, a very powerful and valuable statement of a very general creed. He, with many other more temperate writers, thinks that we are beginning to shoot Niagara; and notwithstanding his mournful views of politics in general, even he sees some hope in the approaching break-up of many antiquated pieces of humbug and conventionality. His hope, indeed, points in a very strange direction when he fancies that the aristocracy will put together the new ship of state, to be pieced together from the fragments of the old one when the crash in the falls is over. But the concordance of this prophet of one extreme school with the opinions of many of the opposite persuasion is worth noting, and may lead to an appreciation of the true nature of the approaching change.

Correspondence.

A PLEA FOR THE UNCULTIVATED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We have had much good writing of late on the subject of culture, and much disputation as to the comparative merits of classical and scientific studies, yet it remains for one of the uncultivated to ask the question, "What is the end you seek when you claim that culture is the highest aim to which we workers must aspire?"

Define your purpose—give us a scientific definition of your words. What is the culture for which you would have us all strive?

If we take the popular estimation, we should probably find that in the minds of the greater number of people men would be sorted into four classes:

1st. The scholars. In this class we should find placed the highest, those whose attainments are the furthest removed from present times and interests, the learned Grecians, the scholars who have sucked in Latin with their mothers' milk, who, having had placed before them the theory that the study of language is the best discipline of the mind, and having become great philologists, have therefore proved themselves the most able men.

2d. The men of science, the great astronomers, the engineers, the chemists; but as these men come somewhat nearer to our everyday needs—since by the aid of the astronomer we sail ships with safety, and ships carry more cargo—since by the aid of the engineers we build railroads, and railroads only carry pork and cotton and the like—since the chemist only teaches us to make soap and to dye calico—we cannot feel that they are free from the taint of material things: they are not lifted above the vulgar wants of what theologians stigmatize as this corrupt body, and therefore they deserve not to be considered men of pure culture.

3d. The men of affairs—merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and artisans—to whom a little culture may be possible in their leisure hours, but whose pursuits are not in harmony with it, whose aims are in their nature such as to preclude high culture, who are the mudsills of conventional society, and under whom come the

4th class. The great mass of workers, who are the mud, the common clay, upon whom conventional society may set its feet, but who cannot partake in the culture which is the chief good to be attained in life.

We, the uncultivated, the Philistines, as Matthew Arnold calls us, have become so accustomed to this classification that we accept it without a protest, and even though most of us are engaged in pursuits by which the hungry are fed more bountifully and the naked are clothed more warmly than they would have been had we not worked out our vocation, some of us, I say, accept our doom as Philistines, and look up to the man whose head is crammed with the knowledge of books, who has found in

the study of language the best development of the mind, as a superior being resting on a higher plane.

Have we not a right to question the justice of this popular classification? We know that, except for our work, the culture of the scholar who despises our pursuits would be impracticable. The first requirement of scholarship, unless in the rare case of the man of genius, is leisure, and leisure is not possible except from the accumulation of capital. Some one must labor, some one must trade, in order that the surplus result of labor may take the form of capital, on the income or principal of which the scholar may live.

This accumulation of capital, this process of consolidating labor for future use, this trade, commerce, manufacturing, and the like, absolutely demands an absorption, a persistent application of the intellect and of the time to such an extent as to render high culture, according to the ordinary use of the term, practically impossible. We must work, we must be Philistines whether we will or not, else there can be no culture either for us or for our critics who abuse us.

We may have good manners, we may be polished men; but if culture consists in the development of the mind by its application to language, literature, science, or art, we can share in it to a very limited extent.

But let us see if the scholar or the man of high culture can meet all the requirements. If he has fully cultivated his mind he should be able to use it, to apply it in any direction. Let us try him.

Ask him what a dollar is and he can only tell you it is a coin. Its function, its power, the intricate yet simple laws which govern its use among men, are to him as Greek to the Philistine. Yet mistakes as to the nature of the dollar have ruined nations and almost stopped the march of civilization. Perhaps the historian can trace the ruin of a nation to a mistake in Greek, but to the Philistine such knowledge is not given.

I challenge the man of pure culture, whose aim is culture, who has made the development of his intellectual faculties the study of his life, and, absorbed in his books, has simply crammed his head with knowledge, none of which ever comes out to give "sweetness and light" to mankind. In what is his accumulation more worthy of praise than that of the avaricious man who accumulates capital? In one respect it is even less worthy of praise. The scholar must be supported by the labor of others; he consumes the capital which some one else has gathered; but the avaricious man who accumulates capital cannot, if he would, fail to benefit others. The accumulation of his capital comes from its use, and no one will pay for its use except for his own gain. The user supplements his own labor with the capital of the miser, increasing his own share while he pays interest or profit on the capital. The use of capital promotes the abundance of commodities.

In most cases your scholar or man of science will despise your question, "What is a dollar?" or profess, with some scorn, an utter inability to apply his mind to any such problem.

I question much whether any problem in philology or science or mathematics is a better exercise for the mind than are the problems which must be solved in trade, finance, and the collection of revenue.

These are the questions which treat of the relations of men to each other, in which mistakes may be of such fatal character as to neutralize every effort of the teacher or the preacher to elevate human nature.

Is it not time for the manufacturers, the merchants, the traders, and the artisans to assert their claim? to prove that any culture which does not include them is incomplete? to demand that sociology, social science, political economy, the science of wealth, or by whatever name you may call the investigation of the laws of human relations, shall be included in every scheme of education?

When this has been accomplished we may find merchants and traders and artisans no longer accepting their doom as Philistines, or weakly attempting to evade it by a smattering of literature or art, but claiming for themselves a position as high as that of others who now look down upon them; and claiming this position by virtue of a clear perception of the fact that by their work the abundance of things is increased, the comfort of humanity promoted, the leisure of the scholar made possible, and true culture, or, as it has been well defined by Arnold, sweetness and light, diffused among all, and not monopolized by a few.

"A PHILISTINE."

MR. STANTON AND GENERAL GRANT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read your article on Mr. Stanton, and feel that I must thank you for it. You have, I assure you, but done justice to him. From the day he entered the War Office to the close, I have followed him with the best opportunities for observation, and I am sure the nation owes a debt it can never pay to him. As chairman of the Military Committee I was brought into intimate relations with Mr. Stanton. I saw him under all circumstances—in the hour of victory, in the day of disaster, and in these later times of anxiety and humiliation, and I can truly declare that he was an able, honest, and devoted statesman. Often rough in speech and act; sometimes hasty and of necessity unjust, he was yet ever earnest, passionately devoted to the country and to liberty. It has been my fortune to know many public men during the trials through which we have passed, but no one has impressed upon my mind more evidences of being actuated by a sense of duty to the country.

I know that he remained in office for the past two years to do what he could to save what the country had done. He felt that it was a hard lot to be distrusted by friends, and we often talked the matter over. Some months ago he said to me: "I will not resign; I will die in this room rather than leave my post of duty. I know I have done some good and prevented much evil, and our friends may see it when I am gone." He believed it was the duty of a public man, as well as a soldier, to sacrifice himself, if need be, for

the country. I honored and loved him for silently bearing the burden of office and reproach. He gave the highest evidence of patriotism and unselfishness in staying in Johnson's cabinet.

Grant knew that Mr. Stanton remained in office for the sake of the country; for he was present, only a few weeks ago, when Mr. Stanton spoke of these matters. They were friends, agreed in policy, and I am confident Grant is acting from the same high motives. If so, he is making a great sacrifice that should win our respect. If he is acting otherwise, for personal ends, he is false to opinions I know he entertained only a few weeks ago.

Yours truly,

HENRY WILSON.

NATICK, Mass., Aug. 24, 1867.

CO-ORDINATE DEPARTMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of August 29 you say, in your first editorial, "The real value of the doctrine of the equality of the departments is twofold. The first is historical, that it freed, as we have said above, the legislature and the judiciary from the control of the executive, in which in past ages they had always been. To a superficial view the legislature appears the weakest of the three; its power is latent, but it is there, ready to be called into actual exercise; and he is either a very brave or a very foolish man who ventures in the light of historical experience to provoke it. The ignominious overthrow of the President by Congress is not, therefore, a political revolution, but the effect of a rapid development of the natural tendencies of the Con-

stitution." I think the meaning of your whole article might be condensed into the following statement: "Formerly the executive was despotic; our Government made the legislature coequal; but it should simply have transferred this despotic power from the President to Congress, and as this was not done before, it had better be done now; for this is only a rapid development of the natural tendencies of the Constitution."

This view strikes a deadly blow at a written constitution, because, as Congress represents the fluctuations of public opinion more rapidly than the President or the Supreme Court, it is thereby entitled to rule them both. If Congress should not only pass upon the extent of its own power, but designate the particular officer to execute its own laws, what then? The absolute rights of every one would be in the control of the majority, and we would instantly have to adopt the plan now accepted in England, and give the minority representation. This minority would either limit the power of the majority, or it would not. If it would, we would still have a constitution, but one uncertain and precarious. If it would not, then the majority could justly pass upon my right to breathe.

Is not a written constitution in which the extent of government [is clearly defined], and a body of judges [appointed] to pass upon that extent, better than this? That the day may come when every man will be a law unto himself I trust and believe; but "why were laws made, but that we're rogues by nature?" and until we cease so to be, a written constitution, with its three departments, each supreme in its own sphere, will be the hope, the only hope, of

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PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 5, 1867.

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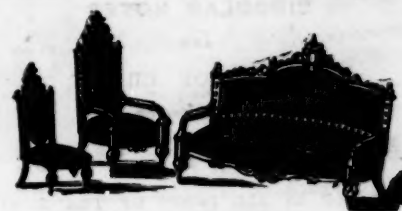
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